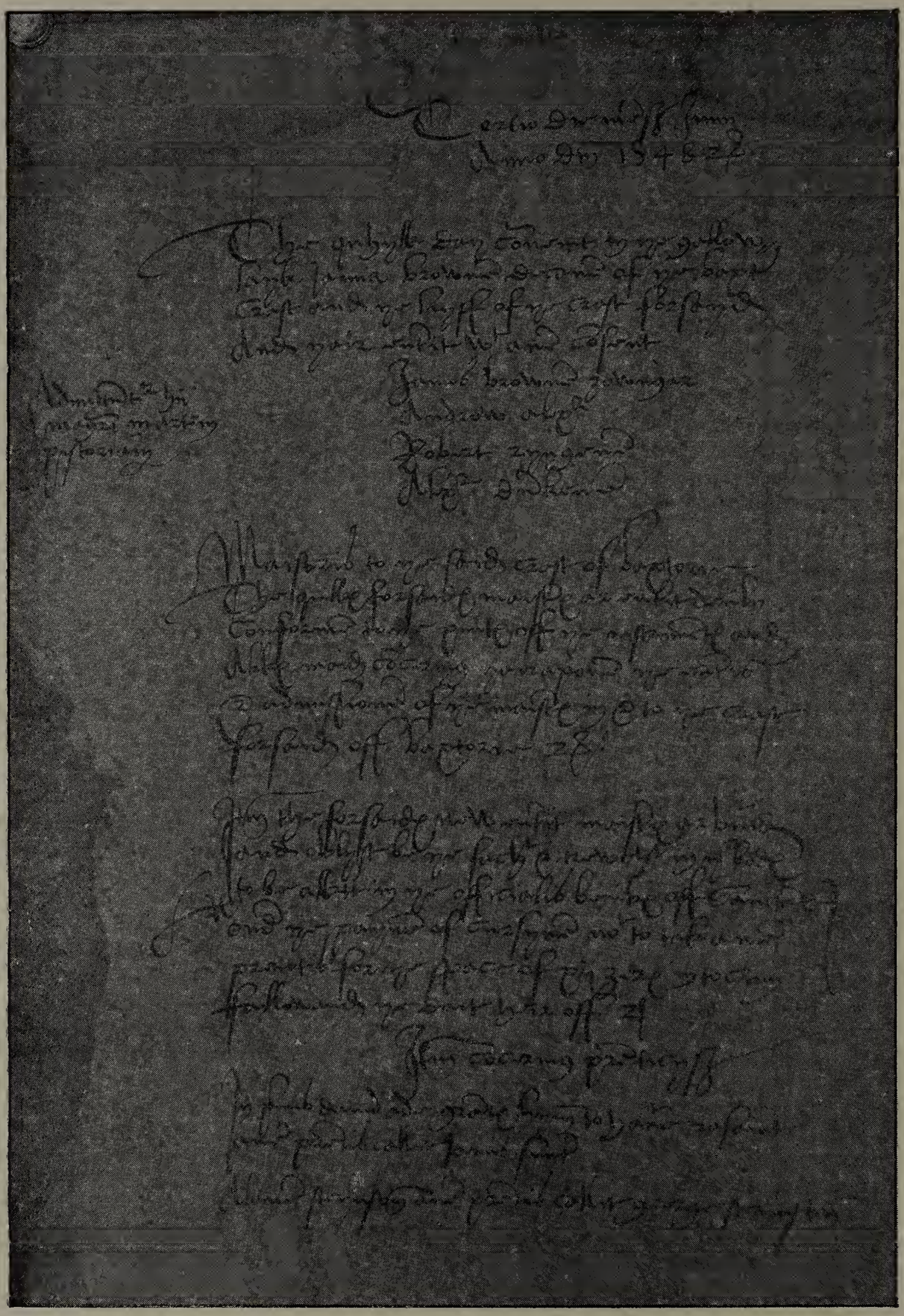
St. A. Baxter Bkr.



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THE BAXTER BOOKS OF ST. ANDREWS.

A RECORD OF THREE CENTURIES.

With an Introduction and Notes by

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'Das Bäckergewerbe habe schon seit vielen Jahrhunderten als achtbar dargestanden, und auch wir wollen darnach trachten, ihm Ehre zu machen. Ein jedes Mitglied sei verpflichtet eins gottesfürchtiges Leben zu führen und seine Gesellen und Lehrlinge ebenfalls dazu anzuhalten, in den Sitzungen des Gewerks friedlich zu berathen, bei gegenseitiger Klage dieselbe mit Bescheidenheit anzubringen, und sich pünktlich zu den Sitzungen einzufinden, überhaupt Alles zu thun, was die Ehre und den Nutzen des Gewerks auf eine ernstliche weise fördern Konne.'—Minute Book of the Bakers of Stettin, 3rd May 1730.

Have they not seen and wept over all the comedy and tragedy of an ecclesiastical metropolis, thrown up to rot piecemeal on the rocks of time? All the rolling, commingling tide of trivial and substantial—meditative teacher, scheming ecclesiastic, golfing aristocrat, shrieking fishwife, budding poet, earnest student, rolling along decade after decade, over the old streets, under the shadow of the old wall-flowers, to the moaning music of the old far-sounding sea.—J. Campbell Smith.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE records of the minutes of the proceedings of the Incorporation of Bakers of St. Andrews extend from 3rd June 1548 to 15th November 1861. They form an almost continuous connection between the pre-Reformation days and our own. When the first-recorded meeting was being held in the Gallowlayk the English overran the country, which still suffered from the disastrous effects of Pinkie, and in a few days after that meeting the fleet of D'Essé sailed past the town, to return with the Queen to France to become its Queen in due time for a short and happy period. When the records end, her descendant — a happier and more fortunate Queen—had reigned over a united England and Scotland for well-nigh a generation. There is a peculiar fitness in the records opening under Mary and terminating under Victoria. When the respectable burgesses of 1548 were transacting their corporate business Shakespeare had not been born, Scotland was a rude and distracted country, where the evils of the minority of a Sovereign, and that Sovereign a female, were felt in all their terrible force. Exactly two years before the records open the astonished bakers were numbered among the clamorous townspeople who demanded to see the body of the murdered Cardinal lowered from the Castle window, dressed in the pontifical robes, after 'the judgment and work of God' had been gravely accomplished by the last thrusts of James Melville's sword. The dawning light of the Reformation was creeping into the minds of the St. Andrews tradesmen, but many of them would turn away with grim thoughts that bright Spring morning, feeling instinctively that after-years would echo the yet unspoken verdict of Sir David Lindsay of The Mount:—

'Although the loon be well away,
The deed was foully done.'

But even as they turned away with dire forebodings some of those whose experience went back for eighteen years could tell of the dark February day when the pile of the gentle and cultured Patrick Hamilton became a light to lighten the benighted land:—

> Vivus lucis qui fulserat igne
> Par erat, ut moriens lumina ab igne daret.

And they could tell of the phenomenon of how, when a baker named Myrton, he who probably was elected Deacon in 1549, 'ran and brought his arms full of straw and cast it into the fire; whereupon there came a blast of wind from the east, forth of the sea, and raised the flame of fire so vehemently that it blew upon the friar who had accused him, and threw him upon the ground, burning all the forepart of his cowl.' Many of them, too, would be spared for ten years after the first-recorded meeting to see, in 1558, the burning of Walter Mill, the last Roman Catholic martyr, in 'a fire biggit on the north side of the abbey kirk, on the high land.'

Stirring as were the stormy scenes immediately before, at the time, and immediately after, the minutes begin, as interesting were many of the events which were witnessed by the bakers whose peaceful and trading interests are recorded here. Except for one or two references, no indications are given of the wild waves of civil, religious, and political history that surged so strongly over the ancient city; yet it is interesting to think of the connection that these men had through the three centuries with great historic events, and to think that as they left their shops and bakehouses they went to look upon the faces and forms of men and women whose names stand up so strangely and so powerfully before us. The opening minute is of the date June 1548, thirteen months before John Knox, Balnaves of Halhill, James Melville, and others who had held the Castle against the Regent and her French troops, were led to the French ships, and thence to the galleys. For a few years the graceful towers of the Cathedral reared against the sun as it disappeared behind gold and purple banks, but when Knox returned probably

some of the craft went with the populace that 'dung them doon;' many of them must have listened to the trumpet tones of the Reformer, and some would hear him expound even on that day when, wearing his furring of matriks and with staff in hand, he was assisted by honest Richard Ballantyne from the Abbey to the Town Kirk. One loves to think of the historic scenes that those honest burgess bakers saw, generation after generation, and the great actors in them as they rode up the narrow streets of old St. Andrews. Parliaments and Assemblies were held within its walls, Kings and Princes were entertained, priests and nobles schemed and plotted, poor students and renowned *savants* met in stern debate, whilst the bakers peacefully carried on their trade, took apprentices, discussed their grievances, married, submitted themselves to Church discipline, and died. Those whose trade deeds are first recorded saw the pageantry when the fair Mary of Guise came home to the gallant and ill-fated James, and felt a patriotic and possibly a personal thrill of satisfaction when it was reported that the fair bride from *la belle France* had admitted that she had never seen so many fair personages of men, women, young babes, and children as she saw that day. In 1562 they saw her daughter, flushed with her reception on her return from the Throne of France, with Bothwell in her train, and few, if any, shadows on the path that was to darken downwards to Fotheringay. They had seen the beautiful face as it flashed upon them when she lived like a bourgeois wife with her little troop in South Street. They saw, too, the execution of the gay and gallant Chastelard, who carried in his mien the bearing of his maternal grand-uncle, the Chevalier Bayard, *sans peur et sans reproche*. Some of them might shake their heads over *The Purpose*, and whisper to their wives and each other of the Queen's dalliance that Randolph noted to his ridiculous mistress and her court. Captain Hepburn's indiscretion was not forgotten, and, baker-like, they hinted that there could not be smoke without fire. Then, when some of them might be 'King's men' and some of them might be 'Queen's men,'

they saw the grim Regent ride down the narrow streets that summer day when he caused Alexander Macker and his six companions to be drowned for piracy, or when, a year later, and still on his mission of eradicating evils, he hung the notorious Paris for his share in the tragedy at Kirk o' Fields, and another of his own name and clan, a Lyon King at Arms, for witchcraft and necromancy, and his companion in the black art, Nic Neville. The bakers would not be greatly surprised when they heard of the murder of 'the Good Regent' as he rode through the narrow and twisted street of Linlithgow, when Bothwellhaugh's revengeful shot spread sorrow through Scotland. They saw the lion-hearted Reformer who 'never feared the face of man' tottering in his old age through the busy streets, or walking, thinking great thoughts, as the sun sank red over the sea; others of them saw the young Montrose playing golf on the Links, and riding at neck-break speed away from his lessons. Some were startled by the news when their Archbishop was hanged at even at the Mercat Cross at Stirling underneath the lines

> Cresce diu, felix arbor, semperque vireto
> Frondibus, ut nobis talia poma feras.

Others tasted a similar fruit when the astonished burghers spoke in terror of another Archbishop punished to the death on Magus Muir. Kings and queens came often to the religious capital of their kingdom. Mary of Guise, Mary of Scotland, bright in their early years, had paid joyous visits to the grey town, that had donned her best to bid them welcome, and later the townsmen turned out to greet the grandson and son, as he came with the Regent Morton, and witnessed the gay guise when Skipper Lindsay warned the shifty Regent to dree his weird. The King came again in 1587, not led, but leading, not to a play of swords, but to one of words, bringing with him Guillaume Sallust, Sieur du Bartas, to listen to the eloquence and learning of Adamson, and the sturdy, unbending democracy of Melville. Yet again the bakers gazed on the face of the British Solomon, when he came, with saumon-like instinct, to visit his native place in

all the glory of his Britannic majesty. The magistrates of St. Andrews do not appear to have taken advantage of the Monarch's presence in the same way as did those of Edinburgh, who brought under his notice the dangerous custom of the baxters of that town storing heather and whins to heat their ovens, and the King ordered a proclamation against it. A writer, who appears to have been disgusted with the poverty of the country or more probably with having to withdraw himself from within hearing of the sound of Bow Bells, for he thought little of the country or its bread, wrote, 'Corn is reasonable plenty at this time; for, since they heard of the King's coming, it hath been as unlawful for the common people to eat wheat, as it was of old for any but the priests to eat the show-bread. . . . They would persuade the footmen that oaten cakes would make them well-winded, and the children of the chapel they have brought to eat them for the maintenance of their voices. . . . They keep no holidays, nor acknowledge any saint but St. Andrew, who, they say, got that honour by presenting Christ with ane oaten cake after his forty-days' fast.'

James' grandson, Charles II., was the last kingly visitor to the cathedral city, and a baker's son, a scion of the most famous baking family connected with the place, Andrew Honeyman, received him on his arrival. The Honeyman family we will meet with often, from 1564 in unbroken continuity to 1789, but we may take our sole glance at its most famous representative here. Whilst the baking branch of the family was maintaining its connection with the craft of St. Andrews, through sons succeeding fathers, another branch was doing the same in the clerical profession as ministers of the parish of Kinneff; but the most famous descendant of the first baker progenitor was Andrew Honeyman, Bishop of Orkney. The information about his life is scanty, and the scattered references to his character and actions are not too complimentary. He is not mentioned in any of the Scottish biographical dictionaries. The poem on Master James Sharpe, in the *Analecta Scotica*, refers to Honeyman as having

been brought up upon charity, and the prelate is made to say:

I fear that Honeyman spak truth,
When he call'd prelacy
A plant of hell, that ne'er would thrive
When in Christ's nurserie.

But Honeyman, like many more at that time, changed his opinion, and although he received Charles when parish minister of St. Andrews, he died Bishop of Orkney. When a man's religious convictions are altered he is either a pervert or a convert from the standpoint of the speaker, so to the Presbyterians Honeyman was a type of inconsistency, and in the Archbishop's legacy he is left the sea, as an emblem of his variableness. He is not considered worthy of indexing under his patronymic by Burton, but is designated by his episcopal title, where he is classified with a predecessor of 1202, who met with no gentle treatment from Harold the Earl, and with another who was oppressed by Patrick Stewart, and who had to write to James that he would require either to leave the country for debt or beg. Honeyman is well bracketed with these unfortunates. He was Presbyterian Second Minister of the Town Church from 1642 to 1662, and Episcopalian First Minister from the latter date to 1664. His connection with the trade is the occasion of a sneer in an anonymous life of Sharpe, printed in 1678, namely that his 'father was but a baxter to his trade, and of small means, yet living in a university town, he easily got his sons bred at schools and colleges, dedicating more than one scone of the baking unto the muses, for he had made all his four sons scholars, who were afterwards all ministers, yet such as might have profited the commonwealth more in following their father's trade of baking, than they have done the church in following the ministry; being themselves as cakes unturned, neither raw nor roasted.' William, who was admitted a freeman on 17th August 1598, appears to be the one of two of the seven generations of Honeyman's who did not have a son connected with the trade, and he was probably the ambitious parent who dedicated all his sons to the church, leaving to his brothers and cousins the duty of devoting their offspring

to the craft. Another family name appears in the Second Minutes of the Town Church in the person of Robert Honeyman, a brother of Andrew, the Bishop, who was Episcopal minister there from 1681 to 1686.

As we shall see later when dealing with the hereditary aspect of the trade, John Honeyman, the father of William, instead of having four sons connected with the Church, had no fewer than three, perhaps, admitted as freemen. The antipathy of the Presbyterian writers to the Bishop was no doubt due to his apostasy and to his friendship with Sharpe. In the memorable attack upon the latter in the High Street of Edinburgh, the Bishop received the shots that were intended for his superior. The two St. Andrews ecclesiastics were riding in the High Street in a coach on Saturday, 11th July 1668, when a man presented a pistol and fired. Honeyman, who had received the shot in his elbow, shouted out 'I am wounded.' The canny citizens of 'the guid toun' did not put themselves much about when they heard the shout and saw the commotion. Although the Archbishop shouted out to secure the villain, he was allowed to walk over the High Gate and down Blackfriars Wynd. Nor afterwards was any assistance given to bring the assassin to justice, although war was made upon man and woman to discover him. Yet the effects of that summer's day tragedy was long felt in Scotland. The Archbishop never forgot it, and seeing behind it the probability of a conspiracy against his power and life, he traced the perpetrator to discover instigators. It was a slowly-drawn-out tragedy, and cost two, if not three—and the third the greatest—lives, before it was expiated. First there was the baker's son, who never recovered from his wounds, and died in February 1676. The Records of the Privy Council state that he was wounded in the groin, and his arm was broken by five balls, and a Presbyterian expressed the pious opinion that 'God does, as it were, beat the pen out of his hand by a bullet that lighted on his arm and wrist.' Such was the end of the life that opened in the baker's house in St. Andrews, which led the

youth through the schools and colleges of his native town to occupy the pulpit of his forefathers' parish church, and as a colleague and zealous supporter of the Rev. Robert Blair. In those days he was zealous against that Episcopacy of which afterwards he was to become a martyr, so much so that in a pamphlet which he wrote against it, entitled *A Declaration for Presbyterial Government*, with such sharp teeth, says Row, that Messrs Blair and Wood, etc., behoved to ding some of them out, to be read in pulpits. Honeyman was admitted assistant and successor to Mr Samuel Cunningham, minister of Ferry-Port-on-Craig, in 1640, translated to be second minister of St. Andrews in 1642; became Archdeacon in October 1662, and was created Bishop of Orkney, 11th April 1664 (Selections from the Minutes of the Synods of Fife, 206-212). He was the author of 'A Survey of the Insolent and Infamous Libel, entitled *Naphtali*' (Edinburgh, 1668), and of 'Bourignonism Displayed, or a Discovery of Several Gross Errors maintained by Antonio Bourignon.' It was on 4th July 1650, that he presented the silver keys of the city to Charles II. at the West Port, and on the same occasion a more celebrated man, 'The flower of the Kirk,' the famous Samuel Rutherford, welcomed the Monarch at St. Mary's Gate, with a lecture on the duty of kings, not at all an unfitting subject for a Fourth of July oration. No doubt there were many of the trade relatives of Honeyman proud witnesses of a scion of the house welcoming an anointed king, and many of their fellow-tradesmen would look on with mingled feelings as they saw the last crowned King of Scotland who ever rode up the narrow streets of the old grey town.

But the visit of Charles is only an incident in the long history of distinguished visits to St. Andrews, and does not form one of the most interesting or most picturesque of them; it is only particularly interesting to us for the trade connection of the ecclesiastic who welcomed him, and presented to him the silver keys of the town. There were more famous visitors and more celebrated churchmen in whom the members of the

craft took an interest, for whom they left the oven-mouth or booth-door, as they came and went through the gates of the city. The Records are silent as to the great historic personages who gathered at Court or Assembly. No mention is made of the great Reformation that got so much of its impetus under the shadow of the Cathedral walls, important political movements, and the crises of national existence find no notice here. During the period in which the successive clerks were chronicling the matters of moment to the trade and its individual members, the nation passed from the Reformation to Reform Bill, from about Pinkie to after Inkerman, from Mary to Victoria, from fighting strenuously 'our auld enemies of England' to wedding with that realm, and to a firmly-settled United Kingdom. Yet few traces of such great events are found in the Records. Here and there are the faintest murmurs of national movements—a letter from the Court at Bath; a disturbance of the election of Magistrates in 'the '45'; a punishment for taking part in 'the last expedition' of 1648; a dull sound of Parliamentary reform and all that was conveyed therein—and these almost exhaust the influence of the fiery transforming elements that surrounded the three centuries of corporate life. Outside their trade gatherings these men were united by the closest ties of friendship and faith, or divided by the sharpest opinions on religion and politics, inside they were at one in conserving common rights, and differing, often vehemently enough, upon trade and civic subjects. The latter, and not the former, were proper matters of record, and recorded they were, and are here set down in print for the first time, to instruct and please those who can seek elsewhere for the more important works upon more momentous acts and facts. In the many great epochs that stirred the heart of Scotland these men had their say and did their part in private, but no testimony from them remains. Amongst the history-making events that must have formed the subject of many stressful discussions was that of the great Union negotiations. The bakers of the neighbouring Fife town of Dunfermline (like St. Andrews,

favoured of old by the Stewarts) signed a protest against an incorporation with England, because 'the same is destructive to the true interests of this Nation,' and they prayed that the Scottish Parliament would 'Support and Preserve entire the Sovereignty and Independency of this Crown and Kingdom, and the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, which have been so valiantly maintained by our Heroick Ancestors for near 2000 yeirs: That the same may be transmitted to succeeding Generations, as they have been conveyed to us; and we will heartily concur with you for Supporting and Maintaining our Sovereignty and Independency with our Lives and Fortunes conform to the Laws of the Nation.' There are no such side-lights on the opinions and feelings of the St. Andrews bakers, even the all-important change from Romanism to Protestantism is only marked by the disappearance of references to the altar and the chaplain that were maintained by the craft. Yet notwithstanding this paucity of historical incident, one cannot altogether dissociate the line of tradesmen from the times in which they moved, nor from the great men they saw or heard. Many of the company would be old men when the Records open, and their recollections would go back to the days of James III., and all the stormy scenes that had taken place in St. Andrews, and in Scotland since. But to go no further back than three years before that June day with which the first minute deals, they had seen riding or walking up the narrow streets, with their quaint buildings and old-time business air, Mary of Guise and her hapless daughter, Beaton in all his pride of power, Wishart going to his martyrdom through that power, gallant Norman Leslie and the stout Kirkcaldy of Grange; even in that month of June they could turn their eyes seaward and see a French galley, wherein a prisoner was prophesying to a fellow that as he could see the steeple of the place where he had first spoken in public to the glory of God, so he would be spared to come again and glorify His name in the same place. Eleven years thereafter the bakers, with the other townsfolk, crowded to hear the impassioned denunciations of John Knox, and

from thenceforth were no minutes required for the chaplain or the altar. The men whose names appear in the quiet records of business detail saw many of the famous men of Scotland and of Europe, some they recognised and some they did not, for their honours lay in the years when the winners had left St. Andrews long behind. They saw Adamson and Sharpe, Spotswoode and Calderwood, Major and Bellenden, Sir David Lindsay and Buchanan, the two Grahams, of Montrose and Dundee, the Admirable Crichton and Napier of the Logarithms, Robert Fergusson and Sir Walter Scott. These names stand for much that is different and much that is alike, they are pillars round which so many storms of political, moral, and religious strife broke in noise and bloodshed, they were representatives of waves of feeling and passion that washed over Scotland, and whilst they all lived and moved, fought and died, the deep moan of the German Ocean broke unceasingly against the shore, and the craft of the baking trade held its meetings and placidly recorded them in the books that lie before us, until the time came when they, too, should cease and so close a volume of history, that, like so many others, can never be re-opened.

In arranging for publication it early became evident that, interesting and necessary for historical continuity as were all the entries, it would have taken too much space, and would have rendered the reading wearisome, if they were printed in their entirety. Very many of them are identical, with the exception of dates and names, and this is especially so in the minutes of the ordinary election of office-bearers. Many simply record the admission of apprentices or freemen, and it has, therefore, appeared desirable to reduce the size and lighten the uniform character of the book by subtracting most of the commoner entries, and to give the information they conveyed by means of tables. No item has been omitted; the form only has been changed. It did not appear to serve any good purpose to leave the minutes of election in full, and it considerably reduced the size of the volume and also eased the labour of the readers to make

tables of the elections of deacons, positors, officers, freemen, and apprentices. The books contain minutes of the ordinary and special meetings of the craft in varying length; some are very short and formal, others extend to longer and considerable length. There is a strong presumption that another set of books was kept for the accounts of the Association. There are frequent references to the amounts of the income and expenditure of the craft, but no details are given. In the 'Black Book' and other books of the Coventry bakers—a transcript of which I have from the original, which were for a time in my possession through the courtesy of the Coventry Association of Master Bakers, to whom they now belong—there are few minutes such as those of St. Andrews, but they consist of full and detailed accounts of the income and expenditure, from which much interesting information of the history of the Company can be gleaned. It is to be regretted that those Scottish records are not supplemented by the financial accounts of the different positors and boxmasters, but we must be grateful that so much valuable matter has been preserved in almost unbroken sequence, constituting as it does one of the oldest and longest records of a bakers' association of which there is any knowledge. There is another interesting difference between the records of the Coventry bakers and those now printed; in the former, as in most of the English companies whose records have been preserved, there are ordinances or tables of rules for the government of the trade. In the St. Andrews manuscript there are no such tables of rules; the craft went from precedent to precedent, rescinding a rule as they found that it had become cumbersome, and enacting others as they found them needful.

The manuscripts date, as has been said, from 1548 to 1861, with but two short breaks, caused probably by the unsettled state of national affairs. There is no record when the craft was embodied at St. Andrews. In many of the Scottish burghs the trades lost their Charters of Incorporation in troublous times; the Edinburgh Baxters, in applying for a

Seal of Cause in 1522, stated that the original Charter was lost or amissing. There can be no doubt that earlier volumes of minutes existed than the first volumes of these three. No elaborate introduction is given, no oath or formula is inscribed upon the title page; the minute just proceeds as if it were engrossed upon the page of an opened book. One regrets that the earlier records have been lost, and that no single reference is made to them in those that have so fortunately been preserved, but one is still more grateful to the fate that has spared such a unique and valuable series in times when there might have been excuses if they had been destroyed.

Several years after the closing of the Incorporation of the Baxters of the Canongate, Edinburgh, I placed myself in communication with a son of the last Deacon, to learn if he had any of the property of the Incorporation in his possession. He had none, but he had a recollection that when a window was broken in the paternal bakehouse, and it was not convenient to get it repaired at once, a substitute was always at hand in some of the parchment deeds, or sheets of minutes, that had at one time been used by the extinct body! Even without the missing volumes that preceded those that are now published, the time covered is the longest, and the trade information is the fullest, of any bakers' society that, after many years' investigations, I have been able to discover. There has no separate history of any English Bakers' Company been printed, until now there has only been one in Scotland, and three or four in Germany. I have come across no history of any French corporation, except that which has been treated as a section of civic interest. In several local histories or studies on guild origins and developments, many interesting extracts of bakers' companies are given. Some of these are anterior to 1548. Mr Toulmin Smith, in *English Gilds* (Early English Text Society), gives the very interesting ordinances that were granted to the Exeter Company of Bakers, on 10th February 1483. His daughter, Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith, published two papers some years ago, in an archælogical review, upon the Bakers of York. These gave

what the authoress believed to be the most extensive set of bakers' ordinances then printed, but she did not appear to have been aware of the three Scottish authorities—Warden, Bain, and Ness. She does not mention them in the list which she admits to be incomplete, where she gives indications as to bakers in several towns. The York Records consist of two volumes that run those of St. Andrews very close for dates, namely, an Ordinary, that runs from 1594 to 1832, and a Book of Accounts, dating from 1584 to 1835. In the Black Book of Coventry, the Ordinance is allowed by the Mayor, Thomas Wotter, 25th October 1623. In a second book of the Fellowship, which appears to have been used as a cash-book, the first entry is dated 6th February 1683-4, and the entries continue until 6th May 1803. The third volume, which contains the register of admission as apprentices and freemen, bears that it was bought on 1st May 1700, by the then Masters of the Company; the entries are continued only till 11th December 1764. Two Compositions of the Bakers' Company of Kingston-on-Hull have been preserved, the dates being 1598 and 1618. Other English records are found in London, in *Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, Liber de Assisa Panis* (1293-1438). But these, extremely interesting and valuable as they are, partake more of the nature of Municipal regulations than records of trade existence. There are many such in the archives of Scottish burghs, which were apparently considered the proper places to preserve them, for it is a curious fact that none of the instructions of the magistrates are copied into the St. Andrews Minutes, although several decisions of the Convener's Court are. The printed extracts from Scottish Incoporations compare favourably with those already mentioned. The most important are those of Dundee, in Warden's Burgh Laws, and of Aberdeen, in Bain's Incorporated Trades. These two Incorporations, as well as that of Glasgow, are still in activity, and admit members who possess the various necessary qualifications. The Metropolitan Incorporation, of which little is known and of whose history only the veriest fragments can

be gathered, is also in existence, but it is a close body, the membership being monopolised by two families. No records are in existence; they are supposed to have been destroyed by accident. The Dundee Bakers' Incorporation enjoys precedence over the other eight trades of the town. Its Locket Book dates from 23rd November 1554, and is thus, in age, a very good second to St. Andrews. Aberdeen has some very quaint regulations, entered in a Minute-Book which begins in 1632, but it possesses a list of Deacons from 1572, but as the latter came to an end in 1861, the palm of age must be awarded to the former. Only a selection of the minutes of its meetings have been published, and in this respect it is like its sister Incorporation of Dundee. Bain gives a very fair selection, but nothing like what might be. There are few materials either in England or Scotland for fairly complete histories of these trading bodies, and where they have been preserved the opportunity should be taken to utilise them. The Incorporation of Bakers of Glasgow is the only one in the United Kingdom that has had its annals published in an independent fashion, St. Andrews now follows, and it is desirable that Aberdeen and Dundee should complete the series, for it is extremely unlikely that the records remain of any other Incorporation of Bakers in Scotland. Although Glasgow has the pre-eminence in having had a history written of its Baking Incorporation, its records are neither venerable nor extensive. It is thought that many valuable documents were burned in the fire of 1652, which destroyed one-third of the city. The present records date only from February 1700.

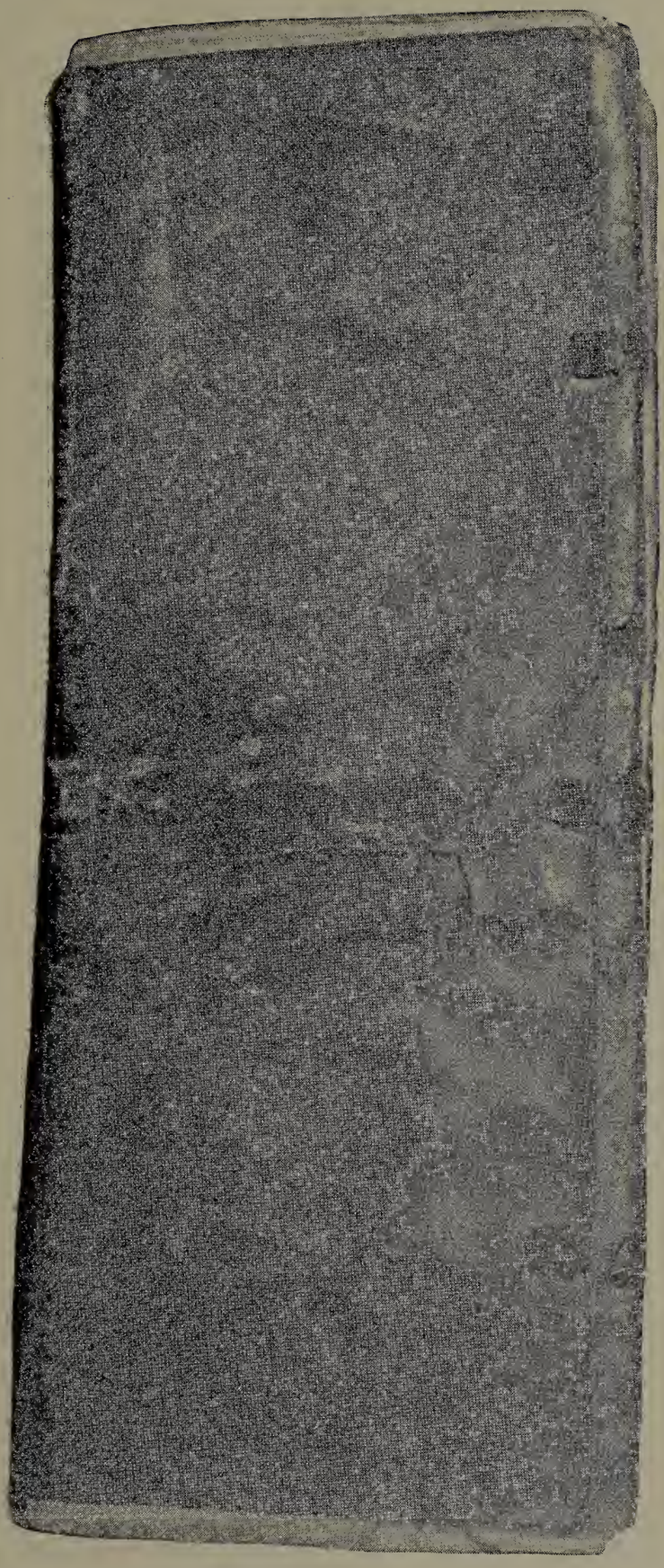
The records of many of the guilds of Germany appear to have been well preserved, and yet none is of earlier date or more uninterrupted entries than those of the Fifeshire town. As in the civic archives of England and Scotland there are many regulations imposed upon the trade, so also do we find city and autocratic rules laid down in Germany for the conduct of the business. Many of these, as will be seen from the notes embodied in this work, were very similar to those in vogue in St. Andrews. Just as there were general lines

upon which guild life everywhere was conducted, so distance and time made little difference in many of the regulations that guided the bakers of Paris, Berlin, Munich, or St. Andrews. Parliaments and Town Councils had to see that the rights of the public were not infringed, and with equal good will the bakers of these and all other places saw that theirs were left intact. In some of our English accounts there are sums of money entered as having been expended on public and private festive occasions. Owing to the unfortunate want of detail in the boxmasters' accounts of St. Andrews, it is impossible to say if they, as an Incorporation, spent their common good on public occasions, although we have traces that some of the patrimony was spent in feasting, and some of the fees were regularly devoted to that purpose. But the craft could not have the picturesque ceremonies that were such prominent features in the Paris Corporation, or which marked so strongly the social side of the old German *Zunfte*, *Aemter*, *Gilden*, or *Innungen*. Many of these guilds are in possession of their minutes, but only a few have been utilised to any extent. Those of the Augsburg bakers date from 1602, but another book, *Das Meisterbuch*, dates from 1580. In the latter is a curious entry, under date of 1777, in which a master baker was fined twelve florins by his fellow-tradesmen because his second wife was delivered of a child four weeks after marriage. According to the Kirk Session Records, the bakers of St. Andrews in the sixteenth century provided plenty of opportunity for Kirk discipline, but there is no mention of the trade taking action on a delicate question of this nature.

The Vienna bakers, a body with a romantic history second to none, possess records which were begun in 1572; the second volume begins with 1723, and the third with 1778.

The books which give an account of the proceedings of the Baxter Craft in St. Andrews are three in number.

The first book contains a record of the trade from 3rd June 1548 to 15th June 1566, with a blank between 1559 and 1563. The covers are of parchment, and fastened together by three thongs. Part of the back cover overlaps the front



The First Minute Book.

one. The size is 11 inches by 9. The book is folded perpendicularly. There are only 14 leaves; evidently there had been more, as, besides the blank just spoken of, there is no record between 1566 and 1573, at which date the second book begins. The leaves have been rather loosely attached to the cover by thread. Otherwise it is in fairly good condition.

The second book begins with a record of the craft's doings at 3rd July 1573, and ends at 11th September 1800, without a break. It is bound in leather, and has the title 'The Baxters Book' stamped on both covers. Two iron clasps, such as we find on many Bibles, keep it shut. It is quite evident that the volume has been re-bound, as the back strip is leather of a lighter colour than the covers, which have been glued on to it. In the re-binding, some liberties have been taken with the folios. These have been pared away to a considerable extent to suit the purposes of the binder, so that portions of the writing have disappeared. The numbering is not by pages but by folios, of which there are 172. Numbers 67 and 86 have been repeated—doubtless by mistake—so that really there are 174 folios, making in all 348 pages. There is rarely a blank space to be met with. If such originally existed it was generally filled up by material of a later date. The size is 11½ by 7¾ by 1½ inches. With the exception of a few faded parts, due to damp and the paring away of the edges already mentioned, the book is in very good condition.

The third book gives an account of the proceedings of the craft from 12th September 1800 to 15th November 1861. One-fourth of the book has not been written upon. Its size is 11½ by 7½ by 1. The title on front of cover is 'The Deacon of the Baker Trades Book.' It is bound in rough brown leather, and is in excellent preservation. On the inside of the first cover of each book a slip of paper is pasted, on which we find written:—'University Library. Presented by William Woodcock, writer, St. Andrews, for the purpose of Safety and Public Reference, 9th June 1885.' Mr Woodcock was

the last person employed as clerk by the Baxters, as the last entry is dated 1861, the books had evidently been in his keeping for 24 years. It was at the suggestion of David Hay Fleming, LL.D., that they were presented to the Library for the purposes above indicated.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CRAFT.

We hear something in these days of State interference with traders, but the bodies that have the right of dictating now are few in comparison to those that were. In the early days of these minutes, bakers were subjected to the control of five chief institutions. Parliament, the Church, the Town Council, the Convener's Court, and the Craft, had all the right to say to the tradesman how he should conduct himself and his business. It is sometimes difficult to see where the power of the one ends and the other begins. Each was naturally jealous of its power and privileges. In 1635, a resolution of the craft was passed that no cause should be taken before any other court until it had been considered by the Deacon. The chief matter upon which bakers, as a trade, were subject to the Kirk was that of Sunday observance. There are two references to Sunday baking: one, on 15th June 1566, in which it was agreed to bake no sale bread on Sabbaths, under the penalty of eight shillings (which were to be given to the poor), and the other, upon 15th September 1583, when the fine was raised to forty shillings. About this time Kirk Sessions were particularly strict regarding the prohibition of Sunday trading, and certain trades were specially warned against the continuation of the practice. In the *Kirk Session Register of Perth* (The Spottiswoode Miscellany, Vol. II., p. 240), under date of 15th May 1581, the Assembly ordained the Sabbath day to be kept from all kind of buying and selling, and no dispensation to be used; and this act in special to be directed against baxters, brewsters, wine sellers, burn-bearers, fleshers, and merchants, with all other crafts and occupations. On 17th July 1587, a Perth baker, William Shepherd, confessed to breaking the Sabbath, and was

denounced in the penalty, and it was ordained by the Kirk Session that if ever he be found to set out his bread to sell in time of sermon, or any other time on the Sabbath day, he should be punished therefor in his person. The offence appears to have called for additional emphasis, for on 8th August 1587 it was ordained to keep the Sabbath day, especially in the mills, fleshers' booths, and baxters' booths and bakehouses, under the penalty of the Act of Parliament against the transgressors of the same. The increasing stringency of the observance of Sabbath may be noted from the Burgh Law that was ratified at a Head Court held in Dundee in 1564, permitting tavern-keepers, brewers, and baxters to keep their booths open on Sundays, except during the hours of preaching, although other craftsmen were to do no business at all upon that day, but to spend it on the meditations of God's Word. The penalty for infringement, after three admonitions, was twenty shillings fine, and those who had not the money had to stand four hours in the jougs. In the St. Andrews Kirk Session Register there are several entries of baxters and their wives being admonished and punished for selling bread. The first of these is on 15th November 1570, when a very apparent virago was penalised for a variety of offences, the first being for selling of 'candil and braed on Sundays.' Notwithstanding Church displeasure and civic regulations, the fleshers and the bakers continued to give trouble, and on the 15th of February 1593, the Deacon and several of his colleagues were admonished for occupying their bakehouses on Sundays. Not only were they prohibited from doing business on Sundays, but they had special responsible duties imposed upon them. Craftsmen had to see that their wives and apprentices went regularly to church on Sundays and week days, and if they did not fines were imposed upon the husbands and employers.[1] Guilds long

[1] 'Folowis the statutes maid and sett doun this day, 4th October 1598, be the prouest, baillies, and counsall of the burgh of Abirden, to be kepit and observit be the inhabitantis theirof, subiect thervnto, efter the forme and tenour of the same, in all poyntis, quhill the feist of Michaelmes nixt to cum, vnder

preserved traces of their religious origin, and as long as they retained a strongly religious bias, the observance of Sabbath was not a matter of such importance as it became in post-Reformation days. The religious duties imposed by the Romish Church were far less irksome than those laid down by the grim followers of Wishart and Knox. When the records open, the connection between the craft and the Church is seen in the references to the altar supported by the trade, and by the fines and levies which were paid in wax to be burned before the shrine. The only trace of the Reformation is found in the disappearance of these references. Like the trades in all towns of such importance, the St. Andrews bakers had their patron saint, and contributed for the support

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the panis thairin contenit. In the first, the prouest, baillies, and counsall ratefeis, affermes, and approves the gude and godlie statute maid oberfoir be thair predicessoris, anent the keping of thr sermones on the Sabboth and vlk dayes, bering that all maisteris of houshauldis within this burght sall repair to thair paroche kirkis, keip and obserue the sermones on the Sabboth day, als weill efternone as afoirnone, and also the sermones on the vlk dayes, and not depairt theirfra vnto the end theirof, vnder the panis folowing, to be vpliftit of the contravenaris, sa oft as thay may be noted and convict for thair absence fra the said sermones; that is to say, of euerie houshalder, burges of gild, or his wyff, remaning fra the sermones on the Sabboth day, threttene s. four d.; and of everie frie craftisman or his wyff remaning fra the sermones on the Sabboth day, sex s. viii d.; and everie burges of gild for his remaning fra the sermones on the vlk dayes, sex s. viii. d.; and everie craftisman for his remaning fra the sermones on the vlk dayes, thrie s. four d.; and that everie husband and maister of houshald salbe answerabill for his wyff, incace of his absence fra the sermones, and pay the vnlaw incurrit be hir theirfor; and everie craftisman to be answerabill for his servandis and prenteissis, that thay sall keip the sermones on the Sabboth day, vnder the pane of ane vnlaw of thrie s. four d., to be incurrit be the maister for his servand or prenteis, that beis absent on the Sabboth day; and lykvayis, folowing the exampill of vther weill reformit congregations of this realme, statutis and ordanis that the wyffis of all burgessis of gild, and of the maist honest and substantious craftisman of this burght, sall sitt in the middest and bodie of the kirk in tyme of sermone, in all tyme cumming, and not in the syd ilis, nor behind pilleris, to the effect thay may the mair easilie sie and hear the delyverer and preicher of the word; and siclyk ordanis, that the wemen of the rankis forsaid, sall repair to the kirk, everie ane of thame having a clock, as the maist decent and cumlie vtter garment, and not with playdis as hes bene frequentlie vsit; and that everie ane of thame lykvayes sall hawe stuillis, sa monie as may commodiouslie hawe the same, according to the decent forme observit in all reformit burrowis, and congregations of this realme; and that the brether of gild salbe answerabill for thair servandis, anent the keping of the kirk on the Sabboth day.'

of his altar. This was maintained by moneys raised by entry fees, fines, and gifts. Their patron saint was St. Cuthbert —the same saint that the Dundee bakers honoured. The trade generally has shown a wonderful catholicity in its choice of patron saints. It will be observed that in some of the entries the reference is to St. Tobert; in others it is written St. Cobert. The Perth bakers honoured a somewhat obscure saint in St. Obert. His celebration was held on the 10th of December each year, and was accompanied with strange and fantastic ceremonies. The bakers dressed themselves up in curious costumes and carried torches. One of them was dressed in what was known as the Devil's Coat, and another rode on a ridiculously-decorated horse that moved about with men's shoes on its feet. On 16th December 1577, the elders ordained an act made against superstition on 27th November 1574 to be published on the following Sunday, and that those who took part in the play should be warned to appear before them. On 20th December a man appeared and confessed to striking one of the town's drums on St. Obert's Even and promised never to do so again. The saint in whose honour these strange celebrations were held is unknown to any of the Kalendars, but the Perth bakers kept them up until 1588, when they came to the resolution to refuse admission to their membership, and to banish from the town for ever, any one who took part in the play. The Edinburgh bakers founded an altar in St. Giles Church to St. Cubert, and the clerk was maintained by going in rotation to the house of each member.[1]

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[1] Some idea of the institution of trade altars in Churches may be had from the reference to that of Saint Cuberts, in the Seal of Cause granted to the Edinburgh bakers on 20th March 1522-3, to replace the original, which was lost in time of trouble. 'And also that the said Kirkmaisteris and brether of the said craft choise them ane sufficient chaplane at thair pleasure to make devyne service at thair said altar of Saint Cubert, upon ane competent pryce as they can agrie with the said chaplane, sicklyke as uther craftis dois within the said burgh; and that ilk brother of the said craft furnish the said chaplane orderly as he sall happin to cum about to theme; and quhen any persones of of the said craft happens to be chargit to forgather with the Kirkmaisteris and principal Maisters of the said craft to treit upon the common weill and profyte

Brand, in his *Popular Antiquities*, does not mention St. Cuthbert as the patron saint of bakers, but the latter may not have been honoured by English tradesmen. He gives St. Wilfred, St. Hubert, and St. Honor or Honoré—the latter being the general favourite of French bakers. In a footnote the same author quotes *Dekker's Wonderfull Yeare*, 1603, ascribing the bakers' patronage to St. Clement, 'he worships the bakers' good lord and maister, charitable St. Clement.'

He also quotes Lewis Owen, *Unmasking of all Popish Monkes*, 1628, that St. Clement is the patron of bakers, brewers, and victuallers. I give an illustration of a bakers' coat-of-arms associating St. Clement with the craft.

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thairof, and absent thame but rationabill cause, that persone to pay ane pund of wax to Saint Cubert's light at thair said altar; and also quhatever he be maister of the said craft that beis apprehendit bakand falss and rotten stuff, or insufficient to sell again to our Soverane Lordis leigis, sall pay ane pund of wax to thair said altar the first tyme, and for the secund falt two pund of wax, and gif he beis overtane in the third falt he and his bread shall be brocht before the Provest and baillies, and they to punish him thairfore as sall be thocht expedient with the avise of the Kirkmaister and worthiest of the said craft as offeirs: Item, that quhatsumever persones of the said craft happens till disobey the Kirkmaister and the worthiest uthir persones foregatherit with him of the said craft for the honour and common weill thairof sall pay fourty shillings to Saint Geilles wark, and twa pund of wax to Saint Cubert's altar as said is: Item, that na maister of the said craft sall take ony childer in service thairat ane or mae fra this tyme furth, but gif they be prentices and pay thair devoties as effeirs, and that na baxter take nor reset ane uther manis servand of the said craft under the payne of fourtie shillings to Saint Geilles wark, and twa pund of wax to Saint Cubert's licht, or else to be expellit frae the occupatioune thairof.'

The journeymen bakers of Copenhagen honoured St. Catherine, founding a Guild in her honour in 1403.[1]

The Guild of Exeter Bakers was called the 'Fraternity of our blessed Lady and Seynt Clement.' In Germany bakers have paid allegiance to a variety of saints, including St. Honoratus, Albertus, Ludovicus, Guiliemus, Scotus, and Donatus, and, as the special saint of the White Bakers, stands the Holy Elizabeth. Ingolstadt bakers had as patron St. Anthony, whom they honoured on 17th January. From the time of Karl IV., those of Vienna were known as the Brotherhood of St. Mark. St. John the Baptist was the patron of the bakers of Trier, St. Honoré of Rouen, and the bakers of Constantinople went back to the father of us all —Adam. The clerk of the altar acted as the secretary of the craft in the years preceding the Reformation, and the disappearance of the description marks the passage from the Old Religion to the New. The connection, as we have seen, between the Church and the trade did not perish, although few references to it are found in the trade books. The church remained the meeting-place of the bakers, and they held their rights as seatholders down almost to their last act of dissolution. The Church Courts usually contained a representative or two of the craft. The Kirk Session supervised their morals, and watched that their business keenness did not transgress upon their religious duties. One of the chief functions of the old guilds, a development from the purely religious organisations, was to see that each brother and sister of the fraternities was buried with due respect. In many of the Continental institutions the duties of the members were laid down with great minuteness, and the younger masters had definite functions to perform at funerals. Chief amongst these was that they had to act as the pall-bearers. Great importance was attached to the pall, and each corporation possessed one, either exclusively or in conjunction with one or more guilds. In this country the mort-cloths were kept

[1] Wilda, p. 343.

with jealousy as one of the chief possessions of the community. The only indication I have of a Bakers' Incorporation at Musselburgh, is a reference to the mort-cloth in Paterson's *History of the Regality*. In the Coventry MSS. there is an entry in the accounts under date of 25th November 1672, for mending 'the Pall, 1s.' The hire of it was a source of income to the Fraternity, for on 17th October 1715, the amount received for the use of the 'pawl' was ten shillings, presumably during the quarter; and again in December 1750, there is an entry of two shillings 'for the use of the paul.' Kirk Sessions appear to have done something in the business, for in the Session Book of the Parish of Kirriemuir, 3rd June 1716, there is an entry 'Received for the best Mort Cloath and Bell from John Neish, £2 10s 0d.'[1] In the trade 'book, bell, and candle' ban, the mort-cloth played an important part. The Hammermen of St. Andrews, like the Bakers, owned one, and in 1673, that craft, sitting in judgment upon one of its members, 'all in ane voyce debarrit' him 'from all meitings with them, or haveing any privatt or publict meitings with them, or haveing any privatt or publict meitings, from the vse and benefeit of the comone mort cloathis,' and debarred him from the trade for all time coming.[2]

There are two references to the mort-cloth in the *Baxters' Books*. First on 11th November 1619, a resolution was passed that no one outside the craft should be allowed the use of it until a sum of twenty shillings had been paid for the privilege, and if the Deacon authorised the use without the consent of four members of his Council he had to pay a similar sum. The second reference was on 23rd June 1657, when a common agreement was come to by the hammermen, wrights, tailors, shoemakers, fleshers, and bakers, to share the use of their mort-cloths. The use was to be proportionate to the crafts, and the first comer was to be first served. The bakers' contribution to the common good was in the form of a lately-

[1] Jervise, Memorials of Angus and the Mearns, Vol. II., p. 324.

[2] Fleming, The Hammermen of St. Andrews, p. 35.

made mort-cloth of black cloth. Changed funeral customs in this country have dispensed with the use of a special pall, but in several of the Catholic baking associations in Germany they are still in use. In the historic and celebrated Brotherhood of Munich the pall played an important part. It is recorded that a new one was purchased in 1609, and an elaborate one was bought in 1617, with a gold embroidered cross, with six shields, two with the Imperial Eagle, two with the Virgin against the sun, and two with the bretzels, at the cost of 160 florins; in 1637 another was urgently required and secured at the price of 146 florins, 5 sch., and several others were added to replace the worn out ones as required. At one time a fee was placed upon their use, but this was ultimately given up, and in the accounts where before the sums realised were wont to figure 'nihil' was written. In 1838 the craft agreed that if a stranger were buried by the trade, three thalers would require to be paid for the large mort-cloth and two for the smaller, along with settled fees for the bearers, but no charge was to be made in the cases of the men, women, or children who belonged to the guild. No income is now derived from their use, although the guild still possesses one large and one small white, and one large and small black, and ten half mantles. In the inventory of Ingolstadt are included a pall that has come down from the old guild and a new and gorgeous one, in gold, silver, and silk embroidery.

The office-bearers of the craft were the Deacon, the clerk, the positor, boxmaster or treasurer, the keepers of the keys, the officers, and the Deacons' Council. Occasionally there is a reference to a sergeant and a factor. The chief office was that held by the Deacon, which corresponded to the English Master, a term which is never used in Scottish trade guilds. It was an office of great importance and carried with it a seat in the Convener's Court and in the Town Council. The election took place annually. In the earlier entries the election was held in the spring, but before long it was changed to the month of September. In this custom they followed the

precedent of other corporate bodies both in England and Scotland, where the Michaelmas elections were, and are, the new year of the body.[1]

The bakers of York met in St. Anthony's Hall and elected their Masters and Searchers on the Monday after the feast of St. James the Apostle.

In Kingston-upon-Hull the choice was left with the bakers. The first of their Ordinances of 1598 was that 'they shall from henceforth have emongst theim one warden and two searchers, to be chosen yearly by most voyces amonst theim selves upon the Monday sennet after Michaelmes daie, And that two shalbe of eleccion for warden, whereof the one shalbe chosen, and fower of election for searchers whereof twoe shalbe chosen.' *(A Composicion of Bakers, 1598.)*

The mode of election is shown in a petition which was presented to the Convener's Court by the Deacon of the Weavers. This claimed that it had been the uniform and

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[1] In *The Office of the Mayor of Bristol* it is provided by rule 16, Item, it hath be vsid, the said iiij day after Michelmas daie, and fro thens forthe, the seide Maire to let somon all the maisters of the Bakers, Bruers, Bochers, and of all other craftes of the Towne, to come byfore hym, and then to go and assemble them att their halles and places accustumed, to the lleccion of their maisters for the yer folowyng; and therupon to bryng theire seide Maisters and present them before the Maire, there to take their othes in the Maire's presence, after the form conteyned in the Rede boke.

It is also ordered and agreed by the said Fellowshipp, That at all tymes herafter from tyme to tyme, and from yere to yere, it shall and maie be lawfull, to and for the most anncient men of the same Fellowshipp between the number of Seaventeene, and Thirteene of them and not above Seaventeene; nor under Thirteene of them, to elect and chuse the new Masters of the Fellowshipp to serve in that Office for the yere following; And that from tyme to tyme the sayd Anncient men, or some of them shall nominate foure of the most likely and sufficient men of the same Fellowshipp unto Mr Maior of this city (for the tyme being); Among which foure sufficient men, the said Maior to have his way and choise of one of them (which he thincketh best) to be the head Master of the Fellowshipp for the yere following; And the seconde Master to be chosen by the said Anncient men And also; that from henceforth for ever yf any pson or psons of the said Fellowshipp of Bakers, salbe lawfully elected by the said anncient men, to be second Master of the said Fellowshipp; and shall Refuse the same; the ptie so refusing shall forfeyt Forty shillings to be levyed of his goods and Chattels; To the use of the said Fellowshipp; and that upon such Refusall a new Election shalbe made by the said Anncients.—*The Black Book of Coventry*, 1623.

immemorial practice of all the trades of St. Andrews to elect their deacons in the following manner, viz., the deacon of each trade gave a leet of names of candidates out of which the members had to choose their deacon; but if the body disapproved of the names upon it, they had a right of appeal to the Deacon Convener and the deacons of the remaining six trades. This body of appeal had the power of supporting the list issued by their brother-deacon, or to add another name to it if they considered right. A more democratic spirit appears to have been abroad at this time, for a party had been formed to cancel this practice and to establish the principle that the leet should be made up and voted upon by the trade at large. The movement appears to have originated in the weaving craft, but the Deacon of that body appealed to the Convener's Court, and pointed out that an innovation of that nature must be productive of disagreeable consequences and create confusion and constant disturbance in the trade. He also conservatively suggested that it was taking away from the Deacon a power which, for generations, the predecessors of the craftsmen had deemed advisable to confide in the head of each craft. This protest was sustained by the Convener's Court upon the 5th June 1781, and a prohibition was inserted in the books of all the trades prohibiting any alteration upon the method of nominating the deacons. Although these extracts refer to the immemorial practice, the subject was one which had agitated the trades a few years before, for on 8th September 1780 there were two candidates for the deaconship, one of whom was standing for re-election. The voting was equal, three votes being cast for each candidate. The Convener gave his casting vote in favour of Robert Walker, and against this decision the disappointed candidate, Andrew Duncan, protested, on the grounds that the Deacon of Trade was the only competent judge, and that, therefore, he had the casting vote which he had given to himself. At the elections in 1792 Duncan again returned to the charge, and he appears not to have admitted the establishment of the immemorial custom established by

the resolution of the Convener's Court. In laying his protest before the trade he represented that the practice of the Deacon submitting his leet, and if the trade were dissatisfied with it of calling in the voting power of the Convener and the members of his court, was a practice which had prevailed for a long time, but was one which was greatly to the prejudice and conducive of bad agreement amongst the members. He, therefore, proposed that this should be abolished, and that the Deacon's list, if it were not satisfactory to the members, should be amended by the trade, and that, in the event of an equality of votes, the presiding Deacon of the Craft should have the casting vote. This resolution was adopted by the Craft, and they ordained it to be a standing order for all time. An echo of Parliamentary reform is audible in the proceedings of a meeting on 22nd March 1784, which appeared to recognise the general wish and opinion of the country in favour of a more representative election, not only of trade officers, but also members of municipalities and of Parliament. In this popular movement the bakers of St. Andrews were prepared to share, and they accordingly appointed a deputation, consisting of the Deacon and the Boxmaster, to meet with committees appointed by the other St. Andrews trades to choose and elect a delegate to represent them at a Convention to be held at Edinburgh.

The election was very frequently a unanimous one. On other occasions the successful candidate was elected by plurality of votes. On more than one occasion there was an equality of votes, as is indicated by the differences regarding by whom the casting vote was to be exercised. Sometimes the office was held for a long number of years by the same occupant; at other times there does not appear to have been the same desire for holding it, which, considering the number of times that discipline had to be exercised in consequence of the threats and assaults upon the Deacon, is not surprising. In 1704, John Johnstoune was elected by a plurality of votes, but he only accepted office on the distinct understanding that he should not be re-elected the following year. In 1728 at a meeting of the Convener's Court, a decision was arrived at

and ordered to be engrossed in all the books of the Trades, that in consequence of the many differences, debates, and controversies that arose over the election of the office-bearers, that in all time coming and for the better establishment of peace, concord, and tranquility, no votes or approbation were to be given to any office-bearer who had held office for three successive years. The Court also recognised that the holding of such office frequently meant a serious burden upon the occupiers, and they, therefore, discharged all those who had been in office for the two preceding years.

In 1687 we have an instance of a Royal interference with the election of a deacon. A general meeting of the Trades was convened, at which were present the Convener of the Trades and the Deacons, who were also members of the Town Council, and it was reported to the ordinary members that at the last Council Meeting a letter had been read addressed to the Magistrates of St. Andrews by James II. The tenor of the communication was to suspend all elections in Royal burghs until his Majesty's pleasure should be declared. The letter was dated from Bath upon the 8th of September, and in accordance with it, the Baking Trade set aside the election of John Duncanson, and continued in office his predecessor, Peter Duncanson. At this time[1] James II. was engaged in a Royal progress in the South and West of England, and was in the middle of his contest regarding the election of the President of Magdalen College, Oxford. He had left the Queen at Bath and proceeded to Oxford, but could not prevail upon the Fellows of the College to violate their regulations, and consequently he returned greatly angered, and rejoined his Queen at Bath. He and his advisers were already beginning to harbour designs for filling up all the municipal offices throughout the country by the election of adherents of the Crown. The City of London received a new charter, in which the Crown reserved the power of dismissing the masters, wardens, and assistants of

[1] Macaulay's History of England, chapter 8.

all the trading companies, and over eight hundred citizens were turned out of office. The Tories were out of favour at the Court, and their places were filled with Baptists, Independents, and Presbyterians. The following year the Dutch Ambassador, writing to his States, reported that in many towns the public functionaries had within one month been changed twice, and even thrice. All over England the municipalities were up in arms, and Westminster Hall saw an increase of business from corporations that caused every other litigation to be pushed into the background. Most of these Town Councils were not so pliant as the Town Council and Trades of St. Andrews. Peter Duncansoun continued in office until after the Revolution, but in 1689 John, who had been evicted from the office, was again chosen.

Another of the few indications of the great historical events that moved outside the narrow circle of trade interests, is indicated by a minute in which reference is made to a complaint in the Court of Session, at the instance of Andrew Williamson and others, referring to the illegality of the election of Magistrates and Councillors in 1745. Williamson craved that this election should be satisfied, but the baker craft, in the fear that if it were satisfied it might influence the election of the municipality and trade officers of 1746, with whom the generality of the city seemed to be well satisfied; whilst the trade recognised that the election in 1745 was subject to some informalities, by reason of the 'wilfull absence of some of the then magistrates and councillors,' considered themselves obliged, in a judicious manner and as a body corporate, to approve of the said election. Wilful absence was not such a romantic proceeding in St. Andrews as was being out in 'the '45' north of the Tay.

The right of voting at the election, which was embodied in the freemen of the trade, was a highly-prized one, as may be learned from the resolution passed in 1789, when, in consequence of the trade suffering through the members failing to pay their dues, it was agreed that no one in arrears with their fees should have any voice in the election of the office-

bearers. As in all well-constituted societies and bodies, the dignity and authority of the Deacon were strenuously maintained. There are repeated entries enforcing obedience and respect for the supreme officer scattered throughout the records, the first being enacted upon the 5th June 1550. The spelling and style stand in striking contrast to that of the last entry dealing with the maintenance of the honour due to the Chairman, on 12th May 1812. The former entry occurs nine years to a day before the 'ding doun' of the Cathedral, and reads: 'The quilk day, viz., Quinto Junii Anno, etc., 1550. It is ackin be ye bredren off baxtorie and thay ar sourin be ye facht and trecht tactis socrosanctis dei evangeliis to stand ferme and stabyll with yare decane in all thingis yat is ffor ye weyll fayr off year craft and ye toune, onder ye payne of VI. merkis to be geuyn to ye hawyn werk.' The latter entry is in the more direct and less picturesque terms of the 19th Century, and condemns William Hutton, a member of the trade, who did 'at a public meeting of the trade, in the most riotous and disorderly manner, insult and attack the Deacon when presiding at that meeting, and gave him, and several other members of the trade, a great deal of very insulting and abusive language, and tore in pieces, in presence of the trade, an obligation which he had previously granted to the trade relative to the letting of his bakehouse in Argyle, and as the trade are of opinion that his conduct has been extremely improper, outrageous, and insolent, therefor they did and hereby do fine and amerciate the said William Hutton in the sum of £5 sterling, and until he make payment of the said fine remove and set him aside and deprive him of any vote or seat in trade.'

Long after the Reformation the duties of the Council of the Deacon were stated to be to 'concur, verify, and assist the Deacon with their councel and assistance in all things concerning the glory of God and the weal of the craft.' Offenders against the Executive head were severely punished. In 1601, a craftsman named John Livingstoun was convicted of sundry disturbances against the Deacon, and he was

ordered to ask that officer's pardon and to pay a fine of 40s, and was prohibited from baking until he made the amends The Deacon did not appear to lie upon a bed of roses, and a general resolution was passed that if any member of the trade offended or injured the Deacon, or his successors, he was to be subjected to a fine of £10. About this particular period insubordination appeared to be rife amongst the members, for in 1611, David Kynneir, yonger, was fined 40s, and forced to ask the Deacon's pardon and forgiveness for wrong and offence done, the particulars of which are not recorded, with the exception of what appears to have been an enormity, 'the cuttyng his weycht brod streingis.' The following year another craftsman injured the Deacon in the common Corn Market, and was ordered to pay 40s, and ask the Deacon's forgiveness. One of the longest entries dealing with the maintenance of the dignity of the Deacon's office occurs upon 3rd May 1624, when Charles Small was charged with the filthy slandering and evil report made by him against the Deacon. The offence was committed in the presence of the Provost, Magistrates, and a large number of the inhabitants of the city, and occasioned great indignity and disgrace upon the Deacon. Small's offence was that he had blamed the Deacon for fining and punishing him and his father-in-law for baking too big a loaf, which, no doubt, was a very grievous offence in the eyes of the craftsmen, but as Small could not verify his imputation, he was punished for his slanderous remarks and the act in vindication of the Deacon's dignity was again affirmed. But the dangers incurred by the Deacon did not stop at slanderous speeches and loud brawling. In 1656 John Morton was convicted of drawing a knife and threatening to leave the body of the Deacon upon Gallow Hill. No record exists of the cause of the misdemeanour, and one is left to hazard the opinion that it was in consequence of the political movements of the time, or to be content with the suggestion that it was only the fiery expression of some disturbers occasioned by trade disputes, which would, no doubt, be very readily forthcoming. Curiously enough,

Morton does not appear to have been punished for his threats, as the brethren satisfied themselves by passing a general resolution that if he or any other brother attempted the like in time coming, he or they would be immediately deprived of their liberty in all time thereafter. The fact that no fine or punishment was imposed, and that the enactment was of such sweeping application, almost establishes the idea that the occasion of the trouble had been a public one rather than a private and trade question. Another obstreperous craftsman was fined in the person of William Kinlowie, who had offended the dignity of the Deacon by giving him the lie, and giving expression to such words that the Recorder contemptuously states 'they were not worthie to be putt in wreit,' and the worst of it was that when his case was considered on 18th September 1675, he was still contumacious, and would neither acknowledge his fault nor submit himself to the Deacon, and the trade, therefore, debarred him from all the privileges and liberties of the craft, and he was forbidden to bake any sort of bread, whether great or small, and no fellow-tradesman nor servant was to be allowed to help him to do so or to give him any assistance in buying or in selling. Kinlowie appears to have been at the meeting, for the passing of this resolution brought him to his senses, and it is recorded that, notwithstanding the clause of seclusion, he submitted himself to the Deacon in Council, and gave satisfaction and was immediately restored to his former status.

The dignity of the Deacon as a judge of craft was also rigorously maintained. The Deacon and the Council in 1635 agreed that no member of the Trade should, after that date, pursue or intend any action, that really pertained to the jurisdiction of the Deacon and his successors, before any other judge, until he first had offered his complaint to the Deacon and been refused therein. The *Black Book of Coventry* has a somewhat similar law, entitled: 'For goynge to lawe one agaynst an other. It is also ordayned and agreed, That if any of the sayde fellowshippe be at contencon stryfe or debate one agaynst an other, eyther for dett, or for any other cause

whatsoever (lawfull to be determyned by the fellowshippe) That then the partye grieved shall not further complayne, sue, vexe, moleste nor trouble the other ptie in the law, before the master of the same companye have had the hearynge of the cause, and the determynacon and endynge of the matter in controversie (if it maye be) which if he cannot doo, then to geve lycence to the partye greeved to take his remedy at the lawe, upon payne that every psone so offendynge shall forfayt & paye for everye offence sixe shillings eight pence, to thuse of the fellowshipp.'

In a similar manner the same company sought to support the dignity of their President by ordaining 'That if any of the sayde fellowshippe do at any tyme use any maner of evell speaches, or any spytfull or disdaynfull wordes, or any other naughtie and unsemelye talke, agaynst the masters of the companye, for the tyme beynge, or be disobedyente to them, or in presence of them will not holde their peace at theyr comanndemente, but will styll be Stowte and obstynate, after twyce admonican by the mr. geven, That then every suche psone so offendying shall forfait and paye to the master of the companye 13s 4d to the use of the fellowshippe.'

Nearly every Association whose records have come down to us contain many entries upholding the prerogative and dignity of their heads. Not only do the records proper of these corporations contain general and stringent regulations, but there are many instances of particular offences committed against the honour or personal security of the office-bearers, and in many cases the punishment has been inflicted by the civic authority. When the latter body was called in to adjudicate the praise and blame were frequently dispassionately distributed. On 26th January 1573-4, a baker named Scott was found by the Glasgow Town Council to be in the wrong for preventing the entry of the Deacon into his booth to examine the weight of the bread, and at the same time and in the same manner, another baxter, Williame Neilsoun, was found guilty of injuring the same Deacon, but the Deacon was also found to be in the wrong for striking the offender.

With so many obstreperous and pugnacious members, it is not surprising that at times difficulties were experienced in getting members to accept the office of Deacon. A heavy burden for the maintenance of peace was often placed upon their shoulders, for they were made responsible not only for their own hot tempers and fiery deeds, but for the turbulent spirits that constituted their craft. In Glasgow in 1595 an Act was passed whereby the Deacons of the Trade became responsible to answer within twenty-four hours' warning for any charges made against their crafts, and to give up any of the members who might happen to be insolent or troublesome to the quietness of the town.

To assist the Deacon and other officers in the discharge of their delicate and often provocative and dangerous duties, a number of members were appointed as a Council, or, as we should now put it, as an Executive Committee. The number varied, often in proportion to that of the trade, and at one time there were so few carrying on business that the whole of them were appointed upon the Council. It is not until 25th of March 1574 that there is any reference to the body, and then it is announced that the Deacon, but with the consent of the brethren, appointed six members to it. A fine of eight shillings was levied upon a member for absenting himself from meetings. No information is given as to its institution or as to the duties, but in 1600 their duties are very definitely stated. The members promised, bound, and obliged themselves to concur, fortify, and assist the Deacon with their council and assistance, whenever they should be required, in all things concerning the glory of God and the welfare of the craft, under pain of perjuration and violation of faith. The form of the obligation is suggestive of the earlier days of the organisation, and was, no doubt, a survival of the religious phraseology which at one time was so much affected. In their conservatism the trade clung fondly to old forms and phrases. Centuries afterwards, and even when there was only the shadow of its power and dignity left to the one in question, the Latin nomenclature of the Council election was

preserved. Dr Lujo Brentano points out that the functions of the Council were somewhat similar to those exercised by the Court of Assistants of a later day. At first the duties that ultimately devolved upon them were exercised by a quorum of the members. The first notice of any assistants occurs in connection with the Grocers' Company of London, where, in 1397, six men were chosen to assist the Warden. It is not until the sixteenth century that assistants are met, with one or two exceptions. It is interesting to notice that that date coincides with the appearance of the Council at St. Andrews, and that the number of its members was also six.

The attention of the trade was frequently occupied with the maintenance of discipline in its ranks. It is peculiar that in the St. Andrews trade the regulations were all of a civil or trade character, and no notice is taken at all as to the moral or religious character of the members. In most of the Continental Guilds there are strong prohibitions against non-churchgoing and immorality. Aberdeen has a distinguishing entry, in which several persons bound themselves together not to play cards. Dundee passed severe laws regarding the conduct of its members and servants, and even went the length of passing an edict that if any master freeman of the craft should happen to fall or commit the vice of fornication, immediately after knowledge of it became common property, he was to be fined the sum of 6s 8d, whilst apprentices were very summarily dealt with by an Act, which bracketed with equal culpability any apprentice who put violent hands on his master or mistress, contracted marriage during his apprenticeship, or committed fornication or adultery, with loss of all benefits of apprenticeship. For many moral and religious offences the apprentices and servants of St. Andrews figured in the Courts of the Church, but the reprimands and punishments of the Trade Court extended chiefly to offences against fellow-members and against the common weal. Regulations were made for the proper conduct of the trade's business, and strict rules were laid down that all the business of the meetings was to be done decently and in order. The personal safety of

the Deacon had to be provided for, but the common feeling of brotherhood was also observed by many general rules. There is a directness in the legislation of 3rd October 1591, in which it was unanimously agreed that if any brother of the craft should injure, molest, missay (or miscall), or offend the Deacon, officer, or any brother of the craft in word or deed, he should pay £10 of a fine, which was to be levied immediately upon his readiest gudis and geir. Sometimes comprehensive and general rules were laid down as an expression of opinion arising from particular infringements, and many of the members were punished by fine or otherwise, and the Court ratified the judgment by extending similar penalties to all members who might be guilty of similar offences. At other times, the trade, apparently actuated by a sense of responsibility, met and legislated upon the general condition of the society without indicating any particular offenders. In August 1592, there is an entry stating that the Deacon with his Council and certain of every bakehouse met to consider the condition of the trade, and it was agreed 'ffor samekle as yaiar troublit daylie throw complaintis of breither ffor mispersonyng and iniiuryng vtheris, Thairfore ffor avoyding of ye lyk heireftir and that thai leive in brotherlie love, All in ane voice ordanis an that quhatsumewir brother sall iniure or offend ony bthir or ye deakin be worde or deid sall pay xls money onforgiffin.' The good order of the craft was a matter that involved the honour of each member, and every year, upon the election of the Deacon, all those who were present took an oath, by the uplifting of their hands, to give obedience and assistance to that officer during his term of presidency. There were a great number of instances in which one member had grounds of complaint against another. In those hot and turbulent times quarrels sprung up with unexpected quickness. The quality and character of their breads, their conduct towards each other regarding their servants and apprentices, their personal bearing at kirk and market, and their relations in trade and social life, all offered plenty opportunities for disturbances. Many of these were

carried to the Council of the Craft, and on 13th September 1613, it was decreed that in order to prevent frivolous complaints if the party making them was not able to substantiate them, he was to be fined the same amount as would have been imposed upon his antagonist if the charge had been substantiated.

Many of the charges were very commonplace, and most of them are plainly stated, but a few possess an old-world colouring that assists us in conceiving a revival of those far-off times. Away back in 1593 the trade met to hear a charge at the instance of William Balfour against David Duncan, who had called the whole of the servants in James Brown's bakehouse 'common thieves,' and he was supported in his complaint by Henrie Jamesoun and the rest of the servants, thus showing that the journeymen had also the right of appeal to the Deacons and freemen in matters appertaining to their well-being and repute in the trade. The defendant was also a servant, so that it appears as if the case occupying the attention of the masters was simply one of a bakehouse squabble. Whether there were extenuating circumstances proved in this distinctly libellous charge to which Duncan pleaded or not, no punishment was inflicted upon him, but he was put under a caution with all other servants not to commit a similar offence under pain of a fine of 10 marks to the funds of the craft. No doubt, at that time, the children in the streets of St. Andrews were familiar with the truth underlying the juvenile defiance 'Sticks and stanes will break my banes, but names will never hurt me,' but it was not only nicknames and opprobrious terms that caused complaints, for a jury of the trade considered a complaint in 1592 of a journeyman, Archibald Dupling, who complained against another, Androw Carmichiell, 'for rowging out ye said Archibaldis heare owt of his beard.' This entry gives us an indication that the judicial functions of this nature were somewhat complex. The Deacon was the presiding officer, but he had with him two representatives from each bakehouse in the city. The complaint was upheld, but there is an indication that for the civil

offence the culprit had to appear before the Provost and Magistrates. But in addition to that the trade judges required that he should pass from them to the place where the offence had been committed, and there beg his victim's forgiveness. This appears to have been the sole punishment which the craft imposed upon him, but he was laid under the severe caution that if the like occurred again he would simply be expelled from the bakehouse in which he was working, and debarred from taking service in any other bakehouse in the city. Sometimes the offence did not go the length of assault, but was confined to threats. On one occasion, one member was found guilty of having molested and injured another by words 'boisting [threatening] till hafe puttin handis on him.' Sometimes the wives and families were introduced into these disturbances. One transgressor secures a record in a minute where he is recorded as having struck the son of a freeman, is convicted for transgressing the rules of the craft in not advising the Deacon that he had taken and feed a servant, and also for allowing his wife to assist another man's wife to bake and set up meat in their bakehouse, he knowing that the latter action was against the order of the trade. Not only in their own rights as widows, but also as assistants of their husbands in the trade, women played an important part. This would naturally bring them into conflict with customers, competitors, and servants, and one serviceman was censured and threatened with expulsion from all the bakehouses in St. Andrews if there were a repetition of the offence for injuring, molesting, and blaspheming the wife of one of the freemen. In 1640 another female member of the trade entered a complaint against John Braid and his wife for taking away from her her apprentices and customers. Both of these were serious offences, and, therefore, Braid was compelled to pay 40s for the offence against Elizabeth Buchanan, and other 40s for breaking an old regulation against carrying bread through the town, and he was ordered to be discharged from baking bread until the penalties were acquitted. A serious charge of 'filthie slandring and evill report' was made in 1624 on the part of

Charles Small. He made a charge against the Deacon of the trade in the presence of the Provost, Bailies, and a large number of citizens, in which he said that the Deacon had caused him to be punished along with his father-in-law, for no other fault than for baking too large loaves. This might possibly not have been an offence in the eyes of the multitude of citizens, but it was a very serious one in those of the trade, and, therefore, Small and his father-in-law were fined, with the alternative of the prohibition of baking until the outraged dignity of the Deacon and trade had been satisfied. It is not quite clear as to whether an oven was the necessary accompaniment of a baker's business in those days, for there are indications that there were common bakehouses in which the bread was baked both for freemen of the craft and for private customers. An instance of this is found in an entry under the date of 10th April 1627. Thomas Month, a baker, complained against James Brown and Patrick Walker, masters of his bakehouse, for weighing, baking, and firing dough belonging to a burgess in James Brown's oven before Thomas' dough was put in. The latter's dough was ready, had been scaled off, and the oven and fire were clear for the baking. In consequence of the neglect Month suffered damage to the extent of ten marks. This charge was supported by the children of the bakehouse, and the Deacon and Council ordained that Walker and Brown should pay £3, and a general resolution was passed that if these parties, or any other master of bakehouse, gave precedence to the work or dough of any burgess or other man before a freeman's dough which was ready and the oven prepared for him, the master who acted thus contrary had to pay to the funds of the craft the sum of £4. The members were also called upon to preserve concord in bakehouses, and in one case the Court censured two servicemen and desired them 'to leve in peice and concord, and to be obedient and serviceabill to yaire maisteris and to plaise yair callanes,' and they were forbidden to 'wear or draw a whinger.' As in every other community, slanders and false accusations were often made, sometimes against the personal character of the

parties, and sometimes against the quality of their bread. The ordinances of the Coventry bakers provide two rules against both offences, one 'against slannderers; and further it is ordayned, that if any psone or persones of the sayde fellowshippe shall at any tyme make any slannderous reporte backbyte or otherwise mysuse any of the anncyente or any other of the same companye that hath byn master or masters fellowe. That then every psone so offendynge shall forfayte and paye for every offence 6s 8d to thuse of the fellowshippe.' The other was for 'dyspraysynge all other mennes breade,' namely, 'it is also ordered and agreed, that no persone nor psones of the saide fellowshippe beynge drynkynge, makynge merreye, or in companye in any Inne, vytalying howse, or any other resorte or companye (out of the lawfull assemblie of the same fellowshippe) shall dyspyse, dysprayse, or contemne any other mannes bread of the same companye; neyther shall take upon them to waye, or entermeddle with the same (unles he be swrne or lawfully appoynted to that purpose) upon payne to forfayte and paye 3s 4d to the use of the fellowshippe.' On 2nd October 1639, George Moffett was charged with 'lichtlieand and disgraceand' the bread of Thomas Month, for which he was fined 40s, in addition to one of 6s 8d for his absence and contumacy, and a law similar to that of the Coventry bakers was passed, which provided that if the said offender or 'ony brother of ye craft sall offend in disgraceing and lichtlieand ony neighbouris breid heireftir in tymes coming, and being proven, sall pay the sowme of ten pundis money toties quoties.' On the same day on which this law was passed the trade took into consideration another charge where the officer had been insulted 'with malicious speiches and idle wordis.' As might naturally be expected where women were engaged in trade, their besetting sin brought them under the notice of the trade authorities. Elspit Buchanan, in August 1647, was ordered to pay 40s for having detained a sack from the Deacon of the trade, and for having uttered injurious speeches against him. A picturesque glance into the social customs of the seventeenth century is disclosed in an act against John Walker on 16th

February 1648. Upon the preceding Tuesday the Deacon and his colleagues were in the house of one William Geddes 'unmindful of any wrong to have been done them,' as the quaint entry has it, when one of their number, void of the fear of God, did abuse one of the craftsmen, and said to another that he was nothing but a knave, and laid violent hands upon a third, striking him upon the cheek with his hands, whilst against another craftsman he appears to have been particularly vicious, for he struck and abused him, and also 'worried him with his ruff.' After all this display of temper and ferocity he remarked with an amount of humility that is almost unexpected, that if he were spared to live for other seven years he would be an honester man than any in St. Andrews. For this offence he was fined £10, but that did not apparently clear off all his misdemeanours, for he was debarred from meeting or speaking with the trade upon any of its affairs until he had made amends for his former faults and all other faults that had to be laid to his charge. Frequently the slander is not entered, as, for example, on 29th January 1634, when Patrick Walker, was debarred from bearing office in consequence of a slander and abuse which was set forth at length in the complaint, but which has not been entered into the records.

The occasions of offence were given at various places, and especially when the members were brought together for trading purposes. Very early in the books, under the date of 1576, a judicious resolution was passed, ordaining a fine of 20s upon anyone who attempted to speak without permission and license. Naturally, when members were bound by the same rules, and where all their actions were subjected to such close supervision and regulation, there were plenty opportunities afforded for strife and friction. It was an offence to allure away an apprentice or serviceman. The wheat market appears to have been a royal battle-ground, and it was even found necessary, in passing a general resolution against offending members, to specify offences committed in the corn market. Many rules had to be passed for the conduct of fair and legitimate business. In 1582 it was ordained that no

brother receive nor buy wheat in the market unless it were in a sack. They were also forbidden to buy wheat on the market-day from any stranger or outland-man, except in seed time. There were also many regulations passed for the better government of the trade, in connection with the kind, way, and quality of goods which members were allowed to manufacture.

The punishments which were inflicted for contravention of trade rules, or injuries inflicted upon fellow-members, were many and varied. In the pre-Reformation days the fines took the form of a donation of wax, to be utilised in providing lights before the trade altar in the High Church. At other times, the money so received was devoted to the purchase of wine for the officers. After the Reformation the fines took various forms. A deviation in pre-Reformation days was found in the devotion of the fines to the Haven work. As a general rule, the fines were paid to the craft for no specific purpose, but simply went into the general funds. Suspension from work for a quarter of a year, with a reflective monetary fine upon anyone employing them, was sometimes inflicted upon the workmen. Sometimes the money derived from offences was left in the hands of the Deacon, or of the Deacon and Council, to devote to what purposes they deemed most fitting or expedient. At other times, where the offences were of a personal character, part of the fines were devoted to the funds of the craft and part to the parties who had been injured or offended. Instances also occur in which the offenders are debarred from taking part in the deliberations of the craft. They were forbidden to attend the meetings and were prevented from voting. The offices were also barred to them until due apologies had been offered and accepted, and a formal act of restitution in all craft privileges had been solemnly made. Journeymen were frequently barred from taking service with any master in the town, as a punishment for offences committed by them, and masters, on the other hand, were prohibited from giving them employment under a fine. In some of the more serious infringements of rules by

freemen, the punishment meted out was a prohibition from continuing their trade, either for a definite period or until submission had been made.

The officer next in importance to the Deacon was the Positor. His functions were to look after the finances of the trade, which were kept, in those days prior to banking companies, in lockfast boxes, which were secured with two or more locks, the keys of which were kept by different members, so that the boxes could not be opened except by arrangement, or at stated times. The designation of this officer appears to have been peculiar to St. Andrews. The same term is used in the *Book of the Hammermen*, but I have not come across it in any of the contemporary records elsewhere. It was employed without break from the first mention of the office in 1558, until 1706, when the better-known and more generally-used designation of boxmaster was adopted. This term is still employed in the Incorporations of Dundee, Aberdeen, and Glasgow, but it is not found amongst the records of the English companies. In that of York the duties were performed by the Searchers.[1] Another old form to denote the boxmaster was 'pennymaister,' no doubt derived from the collection of the week's penny or dues. In St. Andrews, as elsewhere, the office was usually a stepping-stone to that of Deacon. When the trade fell upon evil days in 1786, it was decided, although not unanimously, to appoint a factor instead of a boxmaster, but this arrangement was only to stand, probably in deference to the wishes of the minority, until the membership increased. That it did not exist for long may be gathered from the fact that a boxmaster was appointed shortly after. Long afterwards, however, in 1810, a member having declined election as boxmaster,

[1] Item, it is ordeyned, that what soeuer person or persons of the sayd fellowshippe being chosen Searchers, at the entringe of ther office shall fynd sufficiente sewertye for to aunswere the treasure belonginge to the sayd fellowshippe of bakers, and to make a trewe and juste accompt at the goinge furthe of searchershippe of all their receptes and paymentes by them made, vpon payne of euery one offendinge herein to forfaite xls, to be payd in forme affore sayd.

another was appointed factor to manage the business until the next election. Eighteen years later the then boxmaster fell into financial difficulties and absconded, or, as it is euphoniously phrased in the records, 'has from some pecuniary embarrasement been under the necessity of leaving this city and liberties,' and the Deacon was appointed factor and manager of the funds until the next election. The reason for the first appointment of a factor is plainly stated, but it appears from the two later cases as if the members made interim elections to ensure carrying on the duties, but the election to the office was only made at statutory meetings.

The office of Scribe was filled by various descriptions of people. In the Pre-Reformation days, when the ability to write was not so general as it afterwards became, the duty appears to have been a part of that ascribed to one or other of the chaplains attached to the craft altars. At other times the work was done by a notary public, sometimes by the Deacon for the time being, sometimes by a lawyer, who was frequently the clerk to all the incorporated trades. Often sons succeeded fathers, sometimes apprentices masters. William Woodcock, who was the last clerk, handed the documents to the University Library for preservation.

Another important person in the concerns of the craft was the Officer. Sometimes this office was held by a paid servant, at other times it was held by the baker who was last admitted to the privileges of the trade. When one of the latter did not wish to serve he was entitled to pay the wages of a substitute. In 1574 the fee was fixed at forty shillings per annum. In 1746 there appears one of the few financial entries, which has apparently been entered in the minute-book because there was a space suitable for it, which states that eight pounds, Scots, was paid for two years' officers' fees. The last entry of the election of an officer was in 1855—a long and eventful period having been passed through both by the trade and the nation since his first predecessor was elected to perform his quaint and important duties.

LISTS OF MEMBERS.

THERE are several lists of members, each giving the number of members engaged in the trade at the time of compilation, and a consideration of these suggests some interesting deductions. The first is dated 1556, when forty-two freemen bound themselves not to take apprentices for twelve years, and to marry no other than neighbours' daughters. It does not definitely state that these were all the bakers in St. Andrews at the time of signature, and in the next entry there is a name which does not appear in the list, or if it does it is given as Alexander Rynd instead of William Rynd. This is probably the case, for strange as it may seem, when the intimate relations of the towns-people are considered, mistakes were frequently made in Christian names. In view of the general and stringent character of the obligation it is extremely likely that it was a unanimous agreement, and would be binding upon every one. In 1573 the number had risen to seventy-two, and in the list the name of the officer is entered and counted as that of a brother, whilst the clerk's name is entered but not counted. The roll in 1603 contains thirty-nine names, one of which is deleted. Another, compiled in 1619, contains thirty. In this list appear the names of six widows, who, no doubt, carried on the business and enjoyed all the privileges of brethren. Two of the widows were Honeymans, and amongst the male members were other two of the same family. In 1623 the number was thirty-five, and the widows had died out, or, perhaps, having a comfortable down-setting and privileges of trade they may have re-married. In 1637 the list contained twenty-six; in 1682 the number had sunk to fifteen, and in 1758 it had fallen to nine, but still included three representatives of the two old families in the persons of two Duncansons and a Honeyman. In 1800, when the seats were allotted to the trade in the Parish Church, the number of members was eleven, and the Duncansons and Honeymans had disappeared.

Nearly, if not all, the historians of, and guide-book writers to, St. Andrews, have followed the estimate of Pennant in deducting from the number of bakers the relative importance and population of the city. That writer visited the place in 1770, and wrote that the population was about two thousand, and 'two bakers were sufficient; whereas before the Reformation, there had been seventy of these necessary personages.' Most of the later writers give these figures, and supplement them by giving the number of bakers at the time they wrote. Lyon, however, says 'how far this information was accurate, or whether it could be considered as affording a criterion of the comparative population of different ages, we will not stop to inquire.' The list given above shows that Pennant's statement as to the Pre-Reformation number was absolutely correct, but his own figure is doubtful. In 1758 there were nine, and although the minutes about the time of Pennant's visit are sparse and uninteresting for some years before and after that date the number of the council is given as six, and as the names are not always the same it implies that there was a choice of candidates for election. The statement is, therefore, obviously wrong, and the continuity of the records offers another argument against its acceptance. The comparison, however, was quoted, and followed by later chroniclers; Grierson, in 1822, gives seven or eight; Fletcher, in 1845, states they had increased to twelve. Pennant's statement, and Lyon's comment, raise the question as to the justification of taking the number of bakers as a basis upon which to estimate the population. It would not be anything like a fair one now, as there are too great differences in the character and sizes of different businesses to offer a fair mode of calculation. The trade is going into fewer channels, co-operative stores and bread factories are turning out greater quantities than the sum of ten, twenty, and even a hundred smaller shops. But in the earlier days it was a sufficiently reliable method of deduction, provided account were taken of home-baking. The businesses would be of pretty much the same dimensions. The rules regulating the

number of freemen, the taking of apprentices, the restriction of enterprise, the extent of competition, and especially the enticing of customers, would all tend to preserve uniformity in the extent of individual trade. Among these elements there was none so drastic as that introduced by the bakers of Glasgow in 1680, which prohibited any freeman from making more than twenty-four dozen of loaves in a week under the penalty of twenty pounds (Scots), yet they were stringent enough to preserve a very general balance of output.

It does not appear that the names of servants or journeymen were entered upon the roll, and as some of the masters appear to have employed several, the number of bakers engaged in preparing bread at the middle and close of the 16th century is surprising. It is estimated that the population of St. Andrews at the time the Records begun was from twelve to fifteen thousand, so that if there were seventy freemen, and a number of journeymen and apprentices, it argues for a very considerable consumption of bakers' bread. This remained relatively so when the population decreased and the number of tradesmen proportionately diminished. In Dundee in 1554 the number of bakers was fifty-two, and their number and importance in other centres lead to an inclination to modify a belief in the statements of some early travellers in Scotland. Fynes Moryson, in 1598, wrote, 'they vulgarly eat hearth-cakes of oats, but in cities have also wheaten bread, which for the most part was bought by courtiers, gentlemen, and the best sort of citizens,' but if it took over forty bakers to supply bread to the citizens of St. Andrews her glory did not entirely depart with the Cardinals. It has even been said that as late as 1750 wheaten bread was rarely seen in country districts, even on the tables of the richer classes, but one is inclined to think that this was very much a question of the relative position of wheat-growing districts and those where wheat did not grow. In all the towns there were many bakers who encouraged wheaten bread and discouraged oat bread, and nearly every village had its wheat mill.

In 1645 St. Andrews was ordered to supply sixty foot-soldiers, in proportion to its inhabitants, as were the counties and burghs. This figure was only exceeded by Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Perth, and it has been assumed that this meant a population for St. Andrews of three thousand six hundred. At this time there were about twenty-six bakers in the place, so that there was one freeman for one hundred and forty people. From that date the numbers rapidly fell. The city itself fell on evil days. In 1662 a tax was suggested on liquor because the city had been brought so low through the late troubles occasioned by the way-taking of their shipping by the usurpers, the loss of their goods in Dundee, and the great sums they were forced to pay the usurpers of composition for their safety, and unless cured, 'the old city will undoubtedly perish and decay.'

In 1682 the number of bakers was down to fifteen, and in 1697, so decayed had the town become, it was proposed to remove the University to Perth. The general reasons were stated fully, no doubt to the satisfaction of the Professors, but aspersions were thrown upon the place and its traders. The third reason advanced by one of the Professors, John Craigie, was that provisions were dearer in St. Andrews than anywhere else, and he instances flesh and drink of all sorts. One is glad to observe that nothing is said detrimental, either to the bakers or the bread; probably the latter even then enjoyed the reputation that was referred to by Lyon of being particularly good. His fourth reason was that the place was ill provided with all commodities and trades, and they had to send to Edinburgh for certain articles of clothing, and for others had to pay double rates. His fifth reason throws a curious light upon the water supply: 'This place is ill provided of fresh water, the most part being served with a stripe where the foul clothes, herring, fish, etc., are washed, so that it is most pairt neasty and unwholesome.' Let us hope that the good baxters drew their water from the wells. His last reason for the proposed change gives a vivid, if not pleasing, picture of the state of the streets upon which the old trades-

men looked from their booth doors: 'This place being now only a village, where most part farmers dwell, the whole streets are filled with dunghills, which are exceedingly noisome, and ready to infect the air, especially at this season (September), when the herring gutts are exposed in them, or rather in all corners of the town by themselves; and the season of the year apt to breed infection.' All the Trades naturally suffered from such a deplorable state of matters, and although the proposition to remove the seat of the University was not carried into effect, things did not tend to improve, so in 1727, the Deacons of the Trades met, and taking into consideration that the tradesmen were very numerous, so much so, that many could scarcely get a living, and they were quite willing to serve the community, they all agreed to restrict the entry of new members to freemen's sons and sons-in-law, and to such as had served their apprenticeship in the town. They provided for exceptional cases by making the Deacons and the members of the Convener's Court the judges of the circumstances. Following the general rule this decision was ordered to be entered into the books of each of the Seven Trades.

Like all guilds, both at home and abroad, the admission of apprentices to the craft was very carefully regulated, and stringent regulations were passed at times to restrict the supply to meet the requirement, and the provisions demanded from the youths and their guardians, as well as from newly admitted freemen, were frequently altered. Thus, in the very first minute that is preserved, the four newly elected masters bound themselves under the severe penalty of cursing not to take an apprentice for the long period of twelve years. The entry fees were originally divided in payments to the funds of the craft, in fees to the clerk, and in providing wax to supply candles to the altar of St. Cobert. At a later period a portion of the money was devoted to supply a feast to the craftsman. In 1549 an apprentice paid half a mark and a pound of wax to the altar. In 1555, the sum paid by an apprentice was six shillings and eightpence, the pound of wax remaining

unpaid. In 1556, what was probably the whole body of bakers in St. Andrews bound themselves not to take apprentices for twelve years unless these were the sons of neighbours, nor to contract marriages unless with neighbours' children. In 1558 an apprentice paid the fee of six shillings and eightpence, four shillings for the pound of wax, twelve pence to the chaplain of the altar, and eightpence to the sergeant of the trade. The six shillings and eightpence was equivalent to a half mark. Between 1559 and 1563 there is a blank in the entries, and the payments to the altar disappear during this period. For a long time there is no entry relating to apprenticeship, and, in 1588, it is only mentioned that the apprentice had paid his duty, without condescending upon its constitution. But in 1583 it was agreed by the whole craft that no apprentice should be taken unless with the consent of the Deacon and his Council, and that the term of service should be five years, and one year thereafter for his meat and fee, and before he was received into the freedom of the craft he had to pay twenty-four pounds (Scots), and the importance attached to the enactment was such that it was registered as a law of the Medes and the Persians, and was to stand without alteration for all time coming.

It appears to have been customary to register a youth as an apprentice without formally admitting him, for in 1588, Alexander Sharp faithfully promised and bound himself that although his nephew was booked as an apprentice he would not admit him as an apprentice until such time as the whole craft were informed of it. On the same day upon which the promise was given it was decided that no youth should be apprenticed under sixteen years of age, under the penalty of ten pounds, an exception being made, however, in favour of brothers' sons. Apprentices were to be taught all the mysteries of the art, but there was one sacred spot on which they were not to set foot, for in 1592 it was decreed that if one was found in the wheat market a fine of ten pounds was instantly to be uplifted. In 1594 the conditions regulating

the admission were again altered, but still with the reservation regarding brothers' sons, and this is presumably sons of freemen of the craft, by which apprentices had to pay forty shillings to the box of the craft. This lasted for two years, and then, in consequence of the loss sustained by the trade through admitting apprentices too cheaply into it, it was agreed to charge twenty pounds when an apprentice was indentured. This was increased for outsiders, in 1613, to a hundred pounds. Two years afterwards, when the son of the minister of Leslie was indentured, he had to pay a speaking drink of three pounds, twenty-one marks for a dinner to the Council of the Trade, a quart of wine as just duty appertaining of old to the Deacon, and thirty shillings to the box. In 1616 the period of indenture had fallen to four years, and the time-honoured year for meat and fee; but two years afterwards there is an entry which extends it to five years again, and the dues were in all respects as those above-mentioned. In 1622 the period was again for four years, and the customary fifth for meat and fee, but in the last days of the same year, there is an entry that reverts to the five years, and one for meat and fee. In 1630, John Bruce was admitted to serve as apprentice and servant for six years, one for meat and fee, but this was possibly inclusive. In 1632, fourteen pounds is mentioned as the sum given for the banquet. At the same period there appears to have been some laxity regarding the custom of apprenticeship, for it was unanimously agreed that the term should be for six years, including one for meat and fee, and no baker was to release or part with his apprentice, or take another, before the expiry of that time under a penalty of four pounds. In 1634 the period of indenture was the same, but there were imposed eight pounds for the speaking drink, fourteen pounds for the banquet, thirty shillings to the box, and a quart of wine for the Deacon. Early in the same year a solemn conclave was held in the College Kirk of St. Salvator, when after mature deliberation it was decided that no master should take an apprentice until he had been for twelve years a freeman, and this under pain

of a fine of twenty pounds. In 1636 an apprentice is entered for the whole space of seven years, and one year thereafter for meat and fee, paying three pounds of speaking drink, and the other fees as above, but in 1641, the period is reduced to six years inclusive. In 1650 the time was again extended to seven years, and one for meat and fee. There appears to have been little conformity in the arrangement, for in the succeeding year the son of a deceased minister was admitted for seven years inclusive. In 1692 the term was reduced after a long spell of six years inclusive to one of five years inclusive. Two years later there was a return to the six years' period.

In 1754, William Dall, son of the schoolmaster at Kilmeny, was apprenticed to John Duncanson (whom failing to his son) upon May 15, but on November 13, there was a reduction of the indenture on the ground of some differences that had lately arisen between the Convener and his apprentice. The discharge is entered in full in the minutes, but one wishes that the complaints had been set forth at length, as they might have afforded an interesting insight into the conditions of the apprentices at that period. In 1780 the days of long apprenticeships were over; the protracted periods of six, seven, and eight years had passed away for ever. In that year a resolution was adopted that the apprenticeship should be for three years, and from thence the period fluctuated to three, three-and-a-half, and four years, and it even fell to the short space of two years, and they even departed from the time-honoured custom of indenturing, for which was substituted a written obligation upon the guardian to execute a regular indenture if called upon to do so. This laxity showed how the trade had fallen from its high estate, and how the conception of its privileges and honours was debased. Efforts were made to revive it, for as recently as 1811 (although the entry is undated) it was decided that apprentices should be bound for three years, and that they should not be allowed to set up for themselves until three years after the expiry of their time. There is quite a

modern sound about the wording, which contrasts strangely with the old formula of admission to the freedom of the craft. The last charge of apprenticeship fees was made in 1821, when the sum at binding was raised from twenty shillings to thirty.

The general form in binding an apprentice was to refer to him as "the legal son." At first sight this might appear as a time-honoured phrase signifying very little, but that was not so. Both as regards the admission of apprentices and freemen legitimate birth was strenuously demanded. Some of the conditions were exceedingly stringent, peculiarly so at a time when the bar sinister was not looked upon with any great degree of disfavour in higher circles. But admission to a trade was equivalent to the enjoyment of a patrimony; it was the key that opened the door to competency. The Baxters of Edinburgh described it well in the replies to a petition of a Canongate baker to the Lords of Session in 1783: "It is the prospect of being one day exclusively entitled to exercise the baxter craft by keeping open shop within the royalty, and selling there, at all times, bread manufactured by himself, that sweetens the tedious and laborious bondage of the apprentice and journeyman, and reconciles him to the hardships and difficulties he must often encounter in scraping together the money by which the object of his ambition, and a comfortable settlement in life, are to be procured." Dowie, the petitioner in the case, sought to establish that the old methods of the Incorporation were wrong and effete, and argued that however much our forefathers might excel us in their attention to the duties of their religion, and their reverence for, and attachment to, their priests, yet it cannot be disputed, that they knew very little of the arts of commerce and good policy; and the regulations made by them, have been found by experience so ill adapted to the promoting of industry, that they have been either abolished as inimical to trade, or allowed to go into desuetude. For instance, it is enacted '. . . that no members of the Corporation should take into their service any person, but those who had served

as apprentices and paid dues; a regulation now totally disregarded.' But the trade had a long way to travel before apprenticeship fell into disrepute, and so legal birth was a desideratum. I do not trace any definite statement on the subject in any of our British trade institutions, but they are very common in Continental ones. Probably the after marriage of the parents, which in Scotland legitimatised children born out of wedlock, had something to do with the silence; the birth might not have so much to do with the matter, so long as the boy was legitimate at the time of indenture. In France, an honourable distinction was even made in favour of those who had been born during the time their fathers were in business, against those whose fathers had started after the births of their sons. Trade heredity was essentially a birthright.

Having passed through the period of apprenticeship the next step was to become freemen or masters. The freemanship was secured by payment, either as a stranger, a son, apprenticeship served with a member of the craft, or by marriage with a daughter or relict of a master. The provision that the entrant should provide a dinner for the members shows that the friendly side of trade life was not neglected. Various attempts were made to regulate the expenses involved, and these were put forth not only by the trade, but also by Parliament. Sometimes the admission meal is dignified by being termed a banquet, and against superflous banquets the Scots Parliament had given its decree. In 1581, the following Act was passed: Aganis superfluus banquetting and the Inordinate use of confectouris and droggis: Our Souerane Lord and his thre estatis, covenit in this present parliament, vnderstanding the great exces and superfluitie vsit in brydellis and vtheris banquettis amang the meane subiectis of this realme, alsweill wthin burgh as to landwert, To the Inordinat cosumptioun, not onlie of sic stuff as growis wthin the Realme, bot alswa of droggis, cofectouris, and spiceis, brocht from the pairtes beyond sey, and sauld at deir pryces to monie folk that ar

verie vnabill to sustene that coist. For stanching of the qlk abuse and disorder, It is statute and ordanit be oure souerane wth aduise of his saidis thre estatis: That na maner of personis his subiectis, being vnder the degree of prelatis, erlis, lordis, baronis, landit gentilmen, or vtheris that [ar] worth and may spend in yeirlie fre rent twa thousand mkis money, or fiftie chalderris victuale, all chargeis deducit, sall presume to have at thair brydell or vthir banquettis, or at thair tabill in dalie cheir, onie droggis or cofectouris brocht from the pairties beyound sey. And that na banquettis salbe at onie vpsitting eftir babtizing of bairnis in time cūing vnder the pane of twentie pund to be payit be euerie perssone doar in the contrair alsweill of the maister of the hous quhair the effect of this act is cōtravenit as of all vthir psonis that salbe fund or tryit partakeris of sic superfluus banquetting and escheting of the droggis and confectouris apprehendit. For qlk the provest and bailleis wthin burgh, and the schireffis, stewartis, bailleis, Lordis of regaliteis, and thair bailleis to landwert, sall appoint seircheouris. To q^{lk} seircheouris oppin durris salbe maid of quhatsumever hous thai cū to serche vnder the panis to be es temit culpable in the trasgression of this Act gif they refuis. And the offendaris being apprehendit, to be takin and haldin in waird, qll thei haue pait the saidis pecuniall panes to be employit the ane half to the behuif of the ordinar officiaris and sercheouris, and the vthir half to the puir of the prochin.

This was followed up by another measure in 1621; 'It is further Statuted and ordaned That no persoun use anye maner of deserte of wett and dry Confectiounes at Banqueting, mariages, Baptismes, feasting, or anye meallis, except the fruittis growing in Scotland: As also feggis, Raisingis, plum-dames, almondis, and vther vnconfected fruittis, vnder the payne of Ane thousand merkis, Toties quoties, Excepting suche lyik the vse off the foirsaid forbidden confectiounes to be Lauchfull for the intertenement of his Matie prince and thair traynes being within the Cuntrey and for Ambassador^{rs}

and strangeris of gryit qualitie. And it is Statuted moreover That no persoun of quhatsoeuir qualitie use any feasting at buriallis or offer of vther meatis except breid and drink As lykwayis no persoun use anye eating or drinking at night wakingis or lyikwaikingis vnde the payne of ane thousand merkis, Toties quoties.' With these restrictions, and others imposed by the craft, it might be thought that the expenses would have been kept down to a reasonable limit, but undue extravagance shewed a tendency to creep in, and frequently new resolutions had to be affirmed. We have no indication of the vivers supplied at any time, but an account has been preserved of the entry dinner of a Dundee tailor in 1779, which may not have been very unlike the style and charges in vogue in St. Andrews about the same time. It was

	£	s	d
To a bottel with the Dicon before Entrey, -	0	0	7½
To the Fine, - - - - - - - - -	0	6	0
To one shilling to drink while I was chalking out the sie, - - - - - - -	0	1	0
To the First Sume Painej, - - - -	10	18	4
To 5 shillings to James Hunter, - - -	0	5	0
To Bieff, - - - - - - - - -	0	10	6
To Bier, - - - - - - - - -	0	5	0
To Rum, - - - - - - - - -	0	5	0
To Floŭer Bread and Meat Rostg, - - -	0	2	0
To Chise and Salt and Candel, - - -	0	2	6
To baco and Pips - - - - - - -	0	1	2
To the First Court after Entre, - - -	0	6	6
	13	6	1½

Thirty-six persons were present at the meal. There are not many references in these records to the banquets, although there are many to drink. Possibly that term was applied to a meal at which, no doubt, drink would play an important part. Hallam associates the common weal with the common fund, where he describes guilds as 'fraternities by voluntary compact, to relieve each other in poverty, and to protect each other from injury. Two essential characteristics belonged to them: the common banquet and the common purse. . . . They readily became connected with the exercise of trades, with the training of apprentices, with the traditional rules of art.' In St. Andrews there was no definite decision abandon-

ing the dinner, but the minor dues were exacted up to the last entry of a freeman; Aberdeen bakers, however, abolished banquets and feasts and converted them, in 1671, into money to be given to the boxmaster for the use of the trade and for its poor. Nearly a century before that date the Dundee bakers, on 11th October 1578, had unanimously discharged apprentices from giving a dinner, as had previously been done, and it was also extended to freemen who were not expected to provide a dinner at the upsetting of their booths. The Eisenach Ordinances of 1685 provided that the new freemen were to supply a dinner for the old masters, and that a meal *(ein Trunck)* was to be provided with cheese, bread, semmeln, and cakes, as had been customary, but the entrant was not to be burdened by it or be put to great expense.

It appears from one or two entries that a gift of wine by candidates for the freedom was a perquisite of the Deacon, thus constituting a contrast to the custom in Coventry, where, on the occasion of 'gevyng up the counte,' the masters had to provide a dinner. The rule was a curious one, and provided that an account of the stewardship should be given annually upon St. Clement's Day, or within two days before or after it, of all the goods and transactions of the masters, and it proceeds, 'the same late masters shall at the same acconnte make a dyner at their costes and charges unto the reste of the fellowshippe at the heade master's howse, or some other convenyente place as shalbe agreed upon by the olde and newe masters upon payne to forfayte fourtye shillings to thuse of the fellowshippe.' Possibly the masters managed to recoup themselves somehow during the tenure of their office.

The sey or assay drink is frequently mentioned, but there is no statement as to the task that was set the entrant. No doubt it varied from time to time, but it is curious that there was no mention made of it other than in the re-affirmation of the inclusion of the fees amongst the minor dues. Sey comes from the old French *essayer* to try, and sey or sie drink was the drink provided at the trial of efficiency. It would have been very interesting to have had the record,

either here or elsewhere, of the work expected from a freeman in making his trial, but the earliest Scottish example that I have been able to find is that of Aberdeen, 14th January 1669; in this the candidate had 'first to peit the oven, and his say to be ane ait bakin, and a wheat bakin, with ane pye with six corners, and ane coffine of ane wheat pye with six housis with ane bannack of six two shilling quheat bread.' An alteration of the essay in 1781 gives a very good idea of the skill that was required by the craftsman and the scope of the trade. The candidate had to dress a boll of wheat, of which one half was to be made into loaves, which must be well baked and with good crusts, then a bannock of nine twopenny loaves and six pecks of meal made into oat loaves; a florentine of fowls; a florentine of beef; and a dish of tarts—seventeen in the dish of preserves and prunes, two feet in diameter. All these were to be well made and produced by the hands of the applicant. It was the day of the 'rule of thumb,' and good judges some of the bakers must have been, and no wonder, for the applicants in this case had to lift the liquors and the seasonings in one action, no addition or subtraction was allowed from the water, barm, sugar, or salt, once the quantity had been guessed. The examination was made in the Deacon's bakehouse, and the candidate had to season the meat and peat the oven the night before. Practical examinations in confectionery is not a thing of to-day.

Where the sey was not statutory, and, in a modified form even where it was, the stringency of the examination frequently depended upon the favour or disfavour with which the applicant was viewed. An interesting instance occurred in Dundee in 1766, which also shows again the scope of the trade operations. A Londoner started business in Dundee, and the trade demanded that he should perform the essay. They set him no light task in asking him to bake four pecks of fine flour in six penny bricks, three dozen dry biscuits, and the rest in rolls; two pecks second flour in coarse rolls and penny loaves; eight pecks of fine and eight pecks of second

flour into loaf bread; one dish of minced pies, nine in the dish; one veal pie, half peck in crust; a beaf-steak pie, half peck in crust; one dish of apple tarts, with puff paste, nine in the dish; and the same number of prune tarts. This extraordinary list, for one pair of hands, was to be overtaken in one day, the work of which was to begin at seven in the morning! That these were not exceptional articles, as far as the variety was concerned, is evident from an essay that was set in Glasgow, where the candidates had to submit beef-steak pies, veal pies, pigeon pies, pork pies, mutton pies, apple tarts, plum tarts, pear tarts, frouchés, custards, and soufflés.

Speaking drink was another minor due that was long retained. What its precise meaning is is not clear. A German form of the term is *Freisprechen*. 'Speakings' was the Anglo-Saxon name for the deliberative gatherings of the guilds, and it may have meant the drink dues paid at the meetings at which the freedom was conferred. It may also have been a kindly fine exacted at the first meeting at which the new freeman had freedom of speech. It does not appear to have been a common exaction in Scottish crafts, but there is one reference to it in the ordinances of the Aberdeen flesher trade. In 1793 that trade took into consideration that it had been a practice for some time for entrants to give 'what is called speaking pints to the masters and others of the trade,' and these, along with the entertainment at the essay, were abolished. Whichever view may be taken, the speaking money was equivalent to the Yorkshire *lowzening* or trade feast that marked freedom from indentures. The entry money to the freedom varied at different times according to the strength of the trade, the amount of its property, and to the claims of the applicant. It was devoted to trade purposes, and it was illegal to spend it in any unworthy way, although the minor dues could be expended in entertainments, and the general agreement that was arrived at by all the St. Andrews' trades in 1634 left untouched the liberty of each trade to spend the sey and the speaking money as it chose. New

freemen were often prohibited from taking apprentices into their services until they had been a certain number of years on the roll, but it was not until 1780 that any restriction was placed upon journeymen being admitted as freemen. Prior to that date anyone who had served as an apprentice was entitled to become a freeman, but it was then ordained that a period of three years' service should intervene. The last admitted master had to serve the trade as officer for a year or to pay for a substitute. The custom was a very old one and it was retained to the end. It was also a very general one. One of the Ordinance of Eisenach of 1704 provided that when one of the craft, through God's will, paid the debt of nature, the body was to be carried to the grave by the youngest masters; if it were a child two or four had to carry the coffin, if it were a master or mistress, six or eight, according in both cases to the weight of the body. During the first year of his mastership he was not allowed to sit down in any meeting of the Trade, but had to show his respect for his elders by standing. He had to go for the necessary beer, which he had to bring in large copper cans and offer to the older masters; he had to summons them to trade gatherings, take round to each of his fellows the official notice of the price at which the bread was to be sold. The old custom of the youngest master personally summoning the members to the meetings was retained until 1885, when a new master at his first meeting proposed that it should be abolished, and that the meetings should be called through an announcement in the newspapers or in some other way. The impetuosity of the newly-admitted reformer was hotly condemned, and it was only after repeated attempts that he was successful and the time-honoured method abandoned.

In Würtemberg when the *Kertzenmeister* or President had any announcement to make to the trade it was conveyed through the youngest master. In the statutes of the Paris Bakers of 1719, the twentieth of the forty-nine was 'that all the young masters will be obliged to carry, during three consecutive years after their admission, a candle of a pound

weight to the Church of Saint Lazare, on the fête day of that saint, to assist at the masses for the guilty, that are said every Wednesday in that Church at eight o'clock in the morning.'

In St. Andrews the officer of the craft had probably to do with the church services, although in the latter days the service took a different form from that of their fellow-tradesmen in Paris. Dr Hay Fleming quotes one of the officers' duties from the *Cordinaris Buke of St. Androis;* '23rd of February 1609, that the officiar of the craft be present within the Kirk at the secund bell ringing to the preching or prayers, and have the seat dur reddie oppin and patent to the brethren immediatlie eftir the ringing of the said bell, and that he suffir na exstranean to sit in thair seet, and if he failyie heirintill to pay *toties quoties* sex s. viijd.'

The form of the oath taken by entrants is not preserved in any of the books, but that there was a formal one is undoubted. It was probably engrossed in an earlier book to which reference is now and again made in ratifying old Acts. It would not be very different in form to that employed by the Dundee Bakers, which was:

1. In the first ze sall fear, serve, and obey the Almichtie God, maker of heawine and earth, ze sall frequent vith reverence To the hearing of his holy vord, and to the participatioun of his blessed sacramentes.
2. Ze salbe obedient to the Kingis most excellent (ma^{tie}) and his most noble success$^{rs.}$
3. Ze sall give obedience to the prouest and baillies of this burt, and to y^{r} haill lawis.
4. Ze salbe obedient to the deacone and brethering of the baxter Craft, And defend in bodie and goodis thair haill lawis and liberties for the weilfair of the same, maid or to be maid.
5. Ze salbe ane obedient and trew servand to zour maister, And sall nether heir nor sie his skaith, nor any of the brethering of the said Craft, bot shall hinder and stop the same according to zour power.

Baking Operations in the 17th Century.

6. And finallie ze sall manteine concord and peace according to zour power.

This ze will promeis to do in sua far as god vill assist zow. By the name of god the father, son, and holy ghost. Amen.

The operative bakers were part and parcel of the corporation; they were amenable to its jurisdiction and had to contribute to its support. It is not easy to follow what their duties were or what the differences were in their positions. It is curious that we know so little of the actual methods of working and the different duties of the workers. There are here, as elsewhere, notices of different kinds of bread, sometimes indicated by particular names and sometimes by price, but neither here, nor elsewhere, are there many indications of how the bread was made or the system of fermentation adopted. Now, and more especially a few years ago when smaller businesses were the rule, the whole operations were conducted by one or two men. Even yet, in London, a great amount of the bread is made by a man working alone, or with the assistance of a youth. Yet there are indications in these minutes that the art of baking was a more complex one as far as the duties of the workers were concerned. One can scarcely comprehend that there was room for so many kinds of workmen. I know of no description of breadmaking that can assist us in forming any idea of the daily work of a bakehouse in those early days, unless the verses that accompany the illustrations upon the title page of *Artachthos,* by John Penkethman, London, 1638. There are several illustrations in Ordinances and old Tables of Assize, but none so good or clear as those of *Artachthos.* They are reproduced on another page and will serve to convey some idea of the primitive conditions of the trade. The operations are explained in the following lines:—

All Services that to the Bakers Trade
Or mysterie belong, be here displaid;
Which my rude art in order shall recount,
And those in number, to thirteen amount,
Being (howere such Tradesmen use to coozen

In their Scale measure) just a Bakers dozen.
First Boulting, [2]Seasoning, [3]Casting up, and [4]Braking,
[5]Breaking out dowe, next [6]weighing or weight making,
(Which last is rarely seen!) Then some doe [7]mould,
This [8]cuts, that [9]scales and sets up, yet behold
The Seasoner [10]heating, or with Bavin-fires
Preparing th' oven as the Case requires
One carrying up, the Heater [11]peeleth on
And playes the Setter, Who's no sooner gone,
But the hot mouth is [12]stopt, so to remaine
Untill the Setter [13]drawes all forth againe.

But even here we have no indication of the method of fermentation employed, and the same knowledge is wanting in the St. Andrews manuscript.

An entry where an apprentice was charged with doing his master damage in malt-making and the prohibition of apprentices in Dundee taking part in malt-making, would lead to the assumption that the process of breadmaking adopted was one in which a malt and flour scald was employed. If this is so it marks a superiority in breadmaking over that displayed in France. Even now leaven is largely used there as a fermenting principle, but it was universally employed until the bakers in the train of Marie de Medicis taught the Parisians the use of brewer's yeast in breadmaking. Some Florentine physicians about the end of the 16th century attempted to verify the doubted statement of Pliny: Gallia et Hispaniæ frumento in potum resoluto ac in spumam concreto, pro fermento utuntur; eâ de causâ levior illis quam cœteris panis. The tables of the Dukes benefited by their experiments, and when Marie married Henry IV. she introduced the light raised bread to the Parisians along with several confectionery delicacies that are still in repute in the capitals of Europe. But the *pain mollet,* as it was termed, became a *casus belli;* its use was condemned by the Faculty of Medicine, and its merits and demerits were discussed with a bitterness only exceeded by that of the yeast from Picardy and Flanders condemned even by the octogenarian Antoine Vitré, whose evidence in favour of the *pain mollet* was supposed to have been written by Molière himself. But the soft and palatable

bread was approved by decree of Parliament on 21st March 1670. One is inclined to believe that long before that date leaven-raised bread had disappeared from Scotland. Lauder of Fountainhall, in his comparison of French and Scottish breads in 1665, bears out this opinion. In his Journal (*Scottish History Society*, page 43) he speaks of the bread 'which wtout doute is wholsomer then ours, since they know not what barme is their, or at least they know not what use we make of it, to make our bread firme, yet their bread is as firme wtout it.' In the Account Book of Sir John Foulis, there is an item entered in 1689 'for barm to baik, 4s.'

The workmen appear to have been classified according to the nature of the operations with which they were charged. There are mentioned at various times apprentices, freemen, furnesars, servicemen, vantagemen, watterman, sheittman, watter boys, children of the bakehouse, fials and journeymen. Some of these terms were no doubt other names for workers at different times. Some of them I am unable to explain; I have met them no other where. It would appear as if servicemen, fials, and journeymen were synonymous terms. At one period serviceman appears to have been a general term, for in one entry it is decreed that a serviceman, being a watterman, should be paid twelvepence; the freeman of the bakehouse, tenpence; the sheittman, sixpence; and every watterboy, twopence. Here we have the relative importance of the workers definitely stated, but the designations convey no definite meaning. From the amount of his wages the watterman appears to have been the chief workman. There are two possible explanations of the name. At that time there must have been considerable labour in drawing and carrying water from the public wells into the bakehouses, and there may have been men who were specially employed to do so. But the work is that of untrained men, and there would not be sufficient work to keep men constantly employed. Thus the persons who carried the water would not rank very high on the list of workmen. This was most likely the duty of the 'watter boys,' who were to get twopence for their recom-

pense. This view is supported by the reference to water boys in a regulation of the Dundee trade, on 11th March 1697, in which strangers were prohibited from working in bakehouses 'excep young boys for to cary out bread and in meal to baik housis, and to draw watir to the baik hous.' Considering the relatively high wages, and the precedence that is given in the extract, it is more feasible to assume that he was the most important man in the bakehouse, and that he took his somewhat peculiar designation from the fact that he lifted the water for the sponges and doughmaking. He would be responsible for taking the heats at a time when the temperature of the water was judged by the hand, and when experience in testing it provided the ability upon which depended the production of a good or a bad loaf. The freemen, who received a smaller wage, would be the journeymen able to make the dough and perform all the operations under the direction of the foreman. The 'sheittman' is only mentioned in the above regulation of wages, and what his duties were I can form no satisfactory opinion. He may have had something to do with the bolting-cloths or other operation of sifting the roughly-ground wheat that came from the mills. Another explanation, which has an amount of probability to recommend it, is that it may have been a vagary of the writer and ought to have been written 'fietman,' a term which appears afterwards; the fact that the word is only used once and is not very legible, lends plausibility to the suggestion.

The 'furnesar' was, as the name implies, the ovensman. The word is almost identical with the French, *fournier*, ovensman or public baker, although it was anciently applied in France to journeymen bakers. It occurs several times in the earlier entries, but it disappears in the beginning of 1606, and its use at the period is another instance of the French influence in Scottish language and customs. It is unlikely that at that time every master in St. Andrews was in possession of an oven. In 1788 there were sixty bakers in Edinburgh and seven public bakehouses, and out of the sixty bakers no fewer than forty-eight made use of the public bake-

houses, where the charge for baking each batch of bread was three shillings. Mills and bakehouses were frequent adjuncts to religious establishments and baronies. At them people were compelled to grind their grain and bake their bread. In France, many millers attached common ovens to their mills. Their example was followed by others who were not millers, and these were called *fourniers*. Bye and bye they extended their trade and sold flour and bread, and became known as *panetiers*. These millers and ovensmen went through the streets calling upon all who had flour to be ground or bread to be baked to bring out their grain or dough. Thus the bread of the householders and of the tradesmen were baked in the same manner. This is seen in the incident recorded where a complaint was heard at the instance of Thomas Mounth, and a general law was enacted that no master of a bakehouse should put any burgess's bread into the oven before that of a freeman when the dough was ready and the fire made clear for him. Furnacers were engaged like the fials by the year and appear to have been paid by the 'hate,' *i.e.*, each heating of the oven, 3s 4d.

Vantage men are only mentioned once, when they are specially forbidden to make a particular kind of loaf. 'Advantage bread' was the loaf which was given into the dozen, and probably vantage men were bakers who catered for a special class of business where a discount or advantage required to be given. Apparently service men had the right under certain conditions of making and selling bread and cakes. In 1584 service men were forbidden to grind wheat, to sell flour, or set up meat unless the flour was bought from a free baker. They were also forbidden to bake manchets unless under the same condition, and both bakers and service men were forbidden to bake for wine sellers, ale sellers, and those who bought and ground their own wheat. An early Aberdeen entry prohibited apprentices and servants from baking buns and pies to sell, and at a later date, in 1672, an act was passed 'that no frieman of the calling give to any of their prentisses or boys any flour of their wheat baiking nor

give them libertie to baik any rolls, biskettis, or wastalls for their awin use to sell through the toun.'

In addition to the various payments at entry of masters, freemen, apprentices, and the different workers, there were at times statutory weekly and quarterly payments to the common fund of the Trade. The weekly penny was paid by the servants. In 1583 every serviceman was ordered to pay to the positor one penny weekly to be put in the common box, and every furnesar was to give an annual account upon their servicemen. In 1682, the trade 'being mightily in debt' and the patrimony being exhausted, every member carrying on business was obliged to pay weekly the sum of one shilling Scots (or about one penny sterling), and this was put into the common box which was opened each year on the election of the boxmaster. With regard to the former case, an Aberdeen rule of a similar character provided 'that ilk master of this craft admitted freeman sall put and deliver at ilk quarter court their quarter stage (penny) with their servants and prentices, and that for keeping of the poor of the craft, and everie dues astrictit furth thereof. And the maister to answer for their prentices and servants, and pay conform but ony postponis or firstlings, under the pain of 13 shillings *toties quoties* by and attour thair quarter stages for disobedience.' There is an audit of the Dundee accounts, made upon 18th December 1556, in which the Deacon's intromissions of 'ye oulklie penny, rents, anualis, causualties,' were examined. Even in those days the price of bread was sometimes so unremunerative that it was impossible to make provision for a rainy day, and the Dundee bakers ordered a weekly levy, to which even the journeymen had to subscribe, under the somewhat grandiloquent title of 'St. Cuthbert's Pennies.' '19th October 1573.—The qlk day it is statut and ordainit be ye maisters of ye baxtr Craft of Dundie, and ye maist pt yairof, with const and assent of David Tendall, decone for ye tyme, oblesand us our airs and successers in all tymes co-ing, haiffand consideratioun of ye gryt powertie qlk sume of our brether comonity of yis burt prese-tly susteins,

q^lk appering to haiff continwanc, and yat threw ye airnest sute and clamor qlk ye said comonity of yis burt be ye daylie persecutions of our bailzies, craiffand of ws ane pais of breyd not respectand the mercat, w^t out consideratione haid of ws if our handlingis ar abill to susteine quhairthrew we ar brocht to sic powertie be fatill obedeece, yat we ar almaist brocht to wtter rewyne and decay for the maist part. Quhairfor we, decone and brethrene of the Craft forsaid, quhas names followes, understanding ye grett rewyne qlk may follow, Ordains that ilk maister of ye said Craft, saoft as he baik in the oulk he sall pay for sayme thre d.; Ilk Mr baiks nocht ane penny oulkly; Ilk servand in our baik houss ane d. oulkly; Ilk baiking of baiks, quhyt or gray, three hailff d.; qlks oulkly pennys salbe collectit wpone Sunday befor none, in name of St. Cobartis pennys, be ye collector Mr of houss depuit oulkly to yat effect. And gif it sall happin ony maistr or servand not to pay ye saids penys ilk Sunday w^t his furnage, ye collector of ye pennys for the pres^t requyring the saymne, sall pay to the deacone ilk persone for disobedienc twa shillingis, sa oft as they refuse. And the said collector slothful be omitting to mak paym^t of the saids ouikly pennies ilk Sunday befor nicht to ye decane for ye tyme, sall siclyke pay twa schillings. Off the qlk contributiouns ilk deacone for the tyme sall giff accompt quarterlie, being first requyit be the maist p^t of the counsell and M^rs of the said Craft, w^t his wther quarterlie accompts—the persone quha sall beir the keyes being pres^t. And in respect heiroff we, heiffand considerations of ye collecting of ye fornamed dewties, giff it happins at ye plesure of God yat ony brether of our said Craft be puir or laik support, n^t being in body and geir, it salbe leassoum to ye decane and counsell for the tyme to tak consideratioun of his powertie for ye present, and sall giff him support of ye said contributiouns, acording to his abilitie or simplicitor. Morewer, in respect of the pres^t troubles, and to co-motions tuiching the earnest pursute of our nytbors, tuiching the liberteis of our Crafts and defences yairof, giff need be It sall be leassome to ye counsell for ye tyme to

borrow ane pairt of said contributiouns, and yat for releiff and defens of yar liberties quhair and quhat tyme neid soe requyr. Alsua it is thocht guid be the decane of the said Craft for ye prest, and ye haill maisters of ye said Craft, yair sall be four keyes, qlk keyes salbe giffin till four Mrs of ye special housses of or said Craft, qlk salbe obedient in all tyme co-ing, quhun and quhat tyme decane and counsell for yt prest sall requyr, And giff it happens ony of ye persones berring of ye keyes for ye tyme—being requirit be ye decane and counsall, and found absent, in ys caise forsaid als oft as he beis fundin absent, he sall pay to ye decane twa schillgs for his disobedies.'

Workmen's subscriptions to the common box of the Masters were also common on the Continent. One of the rules of the bakers of St. Germain-des-Prés, in 1659, was, that strange journeymen going to work there could only do so after they had paid sixteen *sols parisis* to the Masters' treasury. The journeymen of Munich had an organisation of their own, and, they too, had to pay each week a 'black penny.' The payment was accompanied with great ceremony. It had to be made each Sunday at noon, at the headquarters of the society, and the men had to appear in proper and clean clothing. They had to knock at the door, and before they were permitted to seat themselves they had to say with all propriety, 'God's blessing be upon our dear Lady and all pious journeymen.' When all were gathered the president stood up before the table, upon which were placed the account-books, the box, and a marble figure of the Madonna, and say, 'The box of the journeymen is open,' and all had to present the weekly subscription. The opportunity was also taken of hearing complaints against each other and against employers. In Ingolstadt a strange baker, before he could enter upon a situation had to pay two crowns, but here the regular subscription of one crown was lifted fortnightly—not weekly.

The quarterly payments to the common fund were confined to masters. At first they were paid by the masters of the bakehouses to certain officers, then the duty of collection was put upon the furnesars, who had to transfer the money to

the positor, and then the payment had to be made by each person going the morning after quarter-day to the Parish Church, where the positor was waiting to receive it; non-payment was punished with a fine of two shillings. The Glasgow quarterly accounts were collected yearly and only amounted to a shilling. The origin of the name in every case was, no doubt, due to the fact of the bodies having statutory quarterly meetings.

WIDOWS.

The legal rights of widows of masters were carefully protected, but jealous care was taken that no loophole was allowed them to encroach upon the privileges of other members. They were allowed to carry on the trade with very few limitations in St. Andrews as compared with French and German corporations. They were placed upon an equality with the daughters of freemen so far as the endowing their husbands with advantageous entry to the craft was concerned, and, at a time when such privileges were eagerly sought after, the 'buxom widows' (as the Worshipful Company of Bakers in London still delights to term and toast them) would be in matrimonial demand. In 1591, a widow renounced all privileges, freedom, and liberties of baking which she had, or pretended to have, through her late husband in favour of her son. In 1837, however, their rights regarding the seat of the trade in the Town Church were somewhat restricted, for where a master was entitled to two seats each widow was only allowed one for the use of herself and family. Even during the husband's lifetime, the wife and daughters enjoyed exceptional privileges. In York, in 1595, it was 'ordeyned that none of the sayd occupacion shall set any woman on worke of the sayd occupation of bakers to learne the same except she be his wife or doughter.' No such rule existed in St. Andrews; but female bakers (except as those engaged in carrying on the business) have not existed in Scotland for centuries, whilst it is by no means uncommon, even yet, to hear of women doing all the work of

bakehouses in certain districts of the North of England. Apprentices were permitted to remain in their situations if the master died. The rule of the bakers of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, in 1659, permitted the widows of masters, so long as they remained unmarried, to carry on the trade and enjoy all the rights that their late husbands possessed, with the single exception that they could not take or indenture any apprentice. The confirmation by Louis XV., in 1719, of the rules of the bakers of Paris, contained a similar provision, but extended it to allow apprentices to finish their period of service with the widows of their former masters. The widows of pastry-cooks were allowed to retain apprentices who had begun their apprenticeship with the husbands, but the widows were only allowed to keep them so long as they were 'living alone,' not during their widowhood, which was the usual form of the statutes. Possibly this is a suggestion of the same idea that was more explicitly stated in a regulation of the Parisian gingerbread bakers of 1596, 'the widows of masters, so long as they continue in widowhood, will enjoy the same privilege as their defunct husbands, but if they marry again, or commit a fault against their widowhood, they will lose the said privilege.' Here, as elsewhere, if the widows did not carry on the business, or infringed the constitution of the corporations, the apprentices had to submit themselves to the general body of the trade, which found for them a new master with whom to finish their indentures. In Eisenach, in 1685, it was the rule that if a master died whilst an apprentice was serving his time, the youth was transferred to another employer to complete the term, so that 'no reproach' might be directed towards him when he was upon his travels (*Wanderschafft*). The same rule for the same reason existed in many other German baking corporations. In Stettin, another variation was in force. The apprentice was allowed to remain with the widow until within a period of three months from the expiration of the apprenticeship, and then the guild transferred him to another master, from whom he received the release of his indentures.

The *jus relictæ* was well established at Munich. The widow ranked in succession to the privileges of the trade before children and step-children. In Stettin a widow enjoyed the peculiar privilege to enable her to carry on her dead husband's business of taking a journeyman out of any bake-house in which two or more of them were employed.

The Trade and the Council met in various places at different dates. There is a single entry which would lead to the belief that at one time they were in possession of a local habitation. In 1643 an entrant to the craft had to pay the sum of ten pounds to the fabric and maintaining of 'the craftis hous in the West Burns Wynd.' This charge was in addition to those usually levied for admission, and is combined with payments for the use of the Trade's seat in the Parish Church and the use of the mort-cloth. It would almost appear as if it were a novel charge, which might warrant the assumption that the craft's house had been newly acquired, and that provision for its upkeep was to be partly derivable from the entry fees of members. It is curious, however, that there is no further reference to the house, not even in connection with further regulations for the admission of freemen. Nor, as far as has been discovered, are there any traces of it in any other direction. Very many Continental bakers' guilds had, and still have, very elaborate and historic houses in which to hold their gatherings, Munich and Berlin are notable examples. In our own country, whilst many associations have offices and rooms devoted to trade purposes, there is only one hall exclusively the property of the trade, namely, the Hall of the Bakers Company of London, but the Company is far from being in connection with the trade. In Aberdeen and Glasgow, the bakers unite with the other Incorporations in the possession of excellent properties in the Trinity Hall and the Trades' House respectively.

Undoubtedly a very common place of meeting, in more senses than one, was the public-house. We have no direct evidence of the St. Andrews bakers meeting in one, but they would be very much like their fellows in other towns in this

respect. It is not surprising that their choice of a meeting place was very restricted; halls—memorial or public—were unknown, churches offered the sole haven for a gathering of anything like respectable dimensions. Both here and elsewhere they were largely taken advantage of for that purpose. The drastic lessons of the Reformation had taught the people that there was no undue importance to be attached to the fabrics, and there were no feelings of desecrating the places where prayer was wont to be made by discussing in them the ordinary affairs of everyday life. They might be, and often were, put to much worse uses. It was better to debate in them the serious concerns of trade than to debase them as the fops and light women did in the degraded days of the venerable St. Paul's.

There is no roof of any church built by man so high as that of God's bright heaven, no cathedral so spacious as that of Nature, and the tradesmen very often gathered for their affairs beneath the blue sky, and mingled their voices with the noise of the sea as it rolled against the base of the grey Castle walls. Many of the meetings were held in the open air or in suitable doorways or gateways. Hanging in those days was a very common event, and most burghs possessed their weird and too-frequently-used gallow-hill. These were favourite meeting-places. In the first entry of the minutes we are introduced to a trade gathering on the Gallow-layk, or, as it was afterwards called, the Gallow-hill and was sometimes abbreviated into 'The Hill.' At other times they met within the Common Aisle of the Parish Kirk, in the College Kirk of St. Salvatour, within the Castle Closs or Close, and within the Kirk Porch. In 1818 the Incorporation paid ten pounds to the Town Council for the privilege of holding their meetings for all time thenceforth in the Town Hall. Churches were doubtless the first place in which important meetings of trades were held, and the *Caledonian Mercury* of 15th September 1740, reports, 'We hear from Dunfermline that the trades being met in the church, in order to elect their deacons, the loft in which they sat was so crowded that it fell down, where-

by several were crushed.' The meeting-places of the St. Andrews tradesmen were not so varied or peculiar as those of Glasgow. The latter convened at times in the Deacon's bake-house, in the Mills owned by the Incorporation, in the Tron Kirk and in its Session House, in the Alms' House, and they even rose to the dignity of possessing a hall known by the trade name, which was situated in the Saltmarket, and passed from their possession in 1786.

WHEAT AND MILLING.

The bakers bought their wheat and sent it to the mills to be ground, but they could not buy it upon their own terms nor where they liked. They had to make their purchases in the market, except under special conditions. At first they were permitted to buy wheat or rye from ships if they intimated their intention to the deacon of doing so, but this permission was soon withdrawn, and the deacon only was allowed to buy there, and he distributed the purchased grain amongst those requiring it. They were not allowed to buy from citizens or from vessels, although apparently they were permitted to buy from any source at seed-time. The market-day was Monday, and the market was the arena of frequent squabbles and fights. No apprentice was allowed to frequent it. Even on the market-day the bakers were not to buy wheat at their own houses or booth doors, as all wheat had first of all to be presented at the market. After the wheat was bought the purchasers had to send it to one or other of the mills to which they were thirled. In Worcester bakers were forbidden from buying corn in the market 'tylle a certeyn houre, as ys lymitted vnto them,' and they were prevented from receiving corn into their houses on Saturdays.

There are not many references to corn-dealing transactions in the minutes; as a rule the regulations were made by the town authorities and entered in the books of the municipality. But it is strange that there should be so few entries connected with milling during the period of grinding at the superior mills. When the incorporation entered into the tack of the

Abbey Mill and when they carried it on in their own behalf there are no want of references, in fact, the transactions connected with the mill became the chief consideration of the members, and were the means of keeping them in existence for some time after their exclusive trading prorogatives had been swept away. But in the earlier days things appear to have worked very smoothly between the millers and the bakers. The Multure appears to have given them no trouble, but the Knaveship twice required attention. In 1597 it was agreed to restrict the amount of payment to three 'lippies' for every three bolls, and in 1601 it was put at one and a half 'straikit lippie' for each bag of wheat that had been ground. The quantity ought to be the same in each case, for at the latter date it is stated that that was the 'use and wont for ever before.' That certainly takes us back for a very long time and is much more expressive than even the appeal to acts made prior to records. Millers were not allowed to buy wheat and sell flour; their sole occupation was to grind the wheat brought to their mills by householders or by bakers. They were remunerated in kind, and the amount of the Multure bore a relation to the quantity of wheat. This differed in places and according to the position and requirements of the customer. A common proportion was $\frac{1}{20}$th to $\frac{1}{24}$th. The Knaveship flour was the quantity over and above the Multure that was given to the miller's man, who, like his employer, was paid in grist. This toll was relative to the Multure. In the Statute of King William (Perth, 1165-1214), the relations are seen; 'Ane freeman or ane freeholder sall giff for multure at the mill the sextene veshell or the tuentie or threttie, according to the insestment; and mairover of tuentie bolles, ane firlot (for Knaveship) Ane husbandman and ane fermer sall gif the thritten veshell of their lands of service, and mairover, of ane, chalder ane firlot (for Knaveship).' The taking of grist in payment was abolished by an Act (36 George III. c. 85) which came into force on 1st July 1796.

PROMINENT FAMILIES AND MEN.

No very distinguished man figures as having been associated with the St. Andrews' baking trade. In the narrow circles of social, civic, and religious life, the bakers took their part. Many of them were members of the Town Council and of the Kirk Session, and in the more turbulent and earlier days they were foremost in many brawls which arise from attempted interferences with their trade or civic rights. It has not been easy tracing the personality of these men whose names and trade acts have been brought to light through these records of the trade doings. The genealogist who finds his subjects in the aristocratic and landed classes has a comparatively easy task put before him. But these men were simply ordinary Scottish tradesmen. They played their life part in some cases well, and in others badly; but they left no permanent imprint upon either the county's history or upon the narrower field of the city. Although there were no outstanding individuals, there were several remarkable families, remarkable for the long period in which their members were associated with the craft. It is not surprising that the connection in several instances should have been a very long one when it is remembered that to succeed to the right of entry into a craft was almost equivalent to a down setting for life. Very frequently the eldest son was devoted to his father's trade, whilst the younger ones had to branch off into other pursuits. The craft was a wider family. Many of the members were united by blood, many by marriage. The means of communication between the inhabitants of a city and other districts were few in number and rudimentary in character. There was a strong tendency for men to remain in the place of their nativity, to marry with neighbours' daughters, and to trade and associate with those whom they had known from boyhood. For generation after generation the rights of membership were handed down with as much care, and doubtless as much pride, as was the inheritance in landed property in higher circles. I have casually instanced the case of the

Honeymans. They, the Duncansons and the Arthurs were the most prominent families. The two former ran each other very close in the duration of their trade dynasties, and as far as our records can assist us, the advantage lies with the Honeymans to the comparatively trifling extent of twenty years in a period of nearly 210. The first reference which we have to the Honeymans is the admission as an apprentice of John Honeyman upon 1st June 1564, and the last entry refers to Thomas Honeyman upon 3rd September 1773. The first Duncanson was Henry, who was admitted a freeman upon 1st June 1564, thus starting at the same time as the Honeyman line, but the last reference we have is to Thomas Duncanson upon 23rd May 1753. The tables of these two families are interesting:—

(1)	John Honeyman,	1st June 1564.
(2)	John Honeyman,	19th October 1591.
(3)	William Honeyman (son of No. 1),	17th August 1598.
(4)	Andrew Honeyman (son of No. 1),	31st May 1609.
(5)	Robert Honeyman (son of John No. 2),	9th June 1619.
(6)	John Honeyman (son of John No. 2),	9th December 1623.
(7)	John Honeyman (son of Andrew, No. 4),	10th September 1642
(8)	Andrew Honeyman (son of John, No. 6),	3rd August 1647.
(9)	William Honeyman (son of John, No. 7),	12th September 1660.
(10)	John Honeyman (son of William, No. 9),	30th May 1681.
(11)	Andrew Honeyman (son of John, No. 10),	17th August 1730.
(12)	Thomas Honeyman (son of Andrew, No. 11),	14th June 1745.
(13)	Thomas Honeyman (son of Thomas, No. 12),	3rd September 1773.

Whilst this long line was running on making the bread that perishes in St. Andrews, a clerical line was established at Kinneff. The most famous of these ecclesiastical Honeymans was the Bishop of Orkney, but two of his brothers were clergy men—one the Rev. James Honeyman, and the other Robert, Archdean of St. Andrews. The former of these succeeeded the celebrated Rev. Mr Grainger, of Kinneff, who, with his wife carried off the Scottish Honours from Dunnottar Castle. In the plain, undecorated church where the Scottish Crown, Sceptre, and Sword of State were buried, the bakers descendants for four generations preached the heavenly bread. Rogers, in his 'Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions in Scotland,' gives the father of the Rev. James Honeyman as

David Honeyman, baker in St. Andrews, but there is no evidence in the Records of any David Honeyman having been in connection with the trade. The father of the Bishop, Archdean, and Kinneff Minister, was most probably Robert. Whilst the remarkable line was running in St. Andrews, the equally remarkable clerical one was supplying ministers for Kinneff. The last of the four died at the early age of 36, when he had only filled the hereditary pulpit for a year and a half. The inscription upon the tombstone erected to the ministers gives some indication of the clerical descendants of the St. Andrews baxter. It is:—'In memory of Mr James Honeyman, brother of Andrew, Bishop of Orkney, and Robert, Archdean of St. Andrews, who was settled minister ot this parish of Kineff 30th September 1663, and died 2nd May 1693, and is here interred. And of Mr Andrew Honeyman, his eldest son, who succeeded in the charge, and died 30th December 1732; and, together with his wife, Helen Rait, of the family of Finlawston, is here interred. And of Mr James Honeyman, his eldest son, and successor in this charge, who died 16th January 1780, aged 77 years, and is interred here, with his wife, Katherine Allardyce, daughter of Provost Allardyce in Aberdeen. And of Mr James Honeyman, his eldest son, who succeeded him in this charge, and died 5th August 1781, aged 36 years, and is here interred. This monument is erected by Mr John, a dissenting clergyman in England, Dr Robert, a physician in Virginia, and Helen, the wife of Robert Edward, in Harvieston, brothers and sister of the last deceased.' The great-grandson of the St. Andrews baker, James Honeyman, was the composer of the song 'Hie, Bonnie Lassie, Blink over the Burn.'

The Duncanson family is only eminent through its trade connection, and there are few similar instances of such long trade descents. The Duncanson succession is as follows:—

Henry Duncanson,	1st June 1564.
William Duncanson,	1579.
Andrew Duncanson (son of Duncan),	12th February 1596.
James Duncanson (son of William),	15th December 1615.
John Duncanson (son of Andrew),	27th July 1619.

Peter Duncanson (son of Andrew),	9th February 1639.
John Duncanson (son of Peter),	26th March 1675.
Peter Duncanson (son of Peter),	18th September 1675.
James Duncanson (son of John),	10th September 1697.
Peter Duncanson (son of Peter),	2nd July 1701.
Paul Duncanson (son of Peter),	16th October 1717.
John Duncanson (son of James),	4th May 1721.
Paul Duncanson (son of Paul),	8th September 1749.
Thomas Duncanson (son of John),	23rd May 1753.

Whilst these families were notable from a trade point of view, and no doubt played very important and worthy parts in civic history, they are of little importance outside that view. The case is totally different in regard to another family that had only a slight connection with the trade. In marked distinction to the sons and fathers and brothers and cousins that formed these two important trade families, the connection in this instance was established through a solitary representative. It was supplied in the person of John Gregory, the son of Charles Gregory, Professor of Mathematics in the University of St. Andrews. It sounds strange nowadays to hear of a University professor sending his son to be an apprentice baker, but it will be noticed that at that time the sons of members of the learned professions were often sent into trade, just as the sons of tradesmen were sent into the learned professions. Whilst a number of the apprentices were drawn from the families of other tradesmen, we have instances in the lists of the sons of ministers and lawyers being bound as apprentice bakers. The son of the mathematical professor served his apprenticeship with John Duncanson, and became freeman in 1739. He does not appear to have had any family follow in his steps, as there is no indication of any son being apprenticed or admitted to the trade. There are a number of interesting references to him in the records. His name appears when certain apprentices were taken into his employment. He filled the offices of boxmaster in 1741, 1742, and 1743, and deacon in 1745, and in 1747 there is an entry in which a clerk accounts for his absence from a meeting by saying that he had given up business and never met with the trade. The inscription of his name

upon the roll of members would have been interesting even from the simple fact of showing the intimate relation between the Trade and the University, but it becomes much more so when the fame of his family is taken into account. Just as the Duncansons enjoyed a long connection for generations with the baking trade and the Honeymans a dual connection with the Trade and the Church, so the Gregorys supplied a unique record of academic history. No other British family enjoys the peculiar reputation of having contributed so many occupants of professorial chairs to British universities. They contributed no fewer than fourteen to Oxford, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Aberdeen, and Glasgow. The St. Andrews baker was the son of one professor, the brother of another, the nephew of two, the grand-nephew of one, and the cousin of three. Little is known about his father, who had been a Snell Exhibitioner at Balliol College. He is described as having been quiet, studious, and able, and it is strange how the professional instinct which was so marked in the whole family should have been awanting in his son. He was appointed professor of Mathematics in St. Andrews by Queen Anne in 1707, and held it to 1739, when he was succeeded by his son David, a brother of the baker, who held it until 1765. An uncle of the father's was a former occupant of the chair. It is not surprising that with these academical connections there should have existed business relations between John Gregory and the University. There has been preserved a contract between him and the Principal and Professors of St. Leonard's College to furnish the students' bread. It is in the following terms:—

'19th October 1741.

Sederunt ut supra.

It was represented this day that John Gregory, baker in St. Andrews, was willing to furnish the College with 180 loaves of the second sort of flour out of the boll of wheat, each loaf weighing 14 ounces baken bread, and with 160 scones, out of the boll of oat meal, each scone weighing 16 ounces baken bread; which offer the Principal and Regents accepted of and approved, the poutrey man to take head that the bread be in number and weight as above.'

The spelling is more like the baker's side of the contract than that of the University.

There are few Scotsmen but what know some of the claims of the Gregorys to distinction. All know the juvenile panacea of Gregory's Mixture; many know a little work, which at one time was found in nearly every family in Scotland, known as Dr Gregory's 'A Father's Legacy to his Daughter'—and some know of the invention of the Gregorian telescope. These are well-known accomplishments of certain members of the baker's family, but many scions of it contributed important works to philosophical and medical knowledge. Whilst John Gregory was working in his bakehouse at St. Andrews he had a cousin teaching modern history at Oxford, a brother teaching mathematics in St. Andrews, and a cousin teaching philosophy at King's College, Aberdeen. Whilst the Honeymans were baking for two hundred years in St. Andrews and the other branch preaching in Kinneff, the Gregorys for two hundred years were teaching in the Universities. They touched on the one hand the cultured life of St. Andrews and Oxford, and on the other the outlaw life of the wild Gregarach. The Oxford cousin married the daughter of a duke, and another cousin walked down Castle Street in Aberdeen arm in arm with Rob Roy. The family with such an interesting history which connects by marriage the Cateran Rob Roy with a daughter of the Duke of Kent, and which had its blood running in the veins of men who have influenced English thought and action to the days of Sir Archibald Allison and Duncan Farquharson Gregory, of whom so recently as 1898, at a meeting of the British Association, Lord Kelvin declared he had died too soon, and then imparted his impression to the gathered scientists at the close of the nineteenth century that they could not tell what the sum of human knowledge might have been if Gregory had lived, must have an attraction for all Scottish readers. Its history can be read in the 'Academic Gregorys,' by Miss Grainger Stewart in the 'Famous Scots' Series.

Amongst those citizens who joined the congregation in 1559 and signed their adhesion to the Reformation doctrines, for the glory of God and to labour 'to destroy and put downe

all idolatrie, abhominationess, superstitioness' and in favour of the 'trew religioun,' were many bakers. Andrew Moffatt is the only one who is described as a baxter, probably to distinguish him from a smith of the same name, but amongst those whose trade is not mentioned are James Browne, elder, Alexander Duncane, David Myles, William Bell, elder, Duncan Davidson, James Broun, Jr., Johne Scharp, David Ade, James Brown, George Stevenson, William Walker, Thom Walker, John Wylie, Henry Fairfull, Alexander Norey, Walter Ade, and Henry Small, all of whose names appear in the Trade Books.

Although, as has been stated, there are few references to civic and national events recorded in the documents of the Trade which have been preserved, we get glimpses of bakers in other histories and in other fields. As we have seen in the case of Honeyman and Gregory, the tradesmen of those days were allied by birth, and consequently by band, with many of the leading families of the Town. When the ties of blood, of trade, or of faction drew them, they were ready to leave the pacific paths of 'piece makers'—to use an old Edinburgh trade joke—and draw their whingers in turbulent strife. They were sometimes at war with the Town authorities, frequently at daggers drawn with the University, and sometimes many of them sided with fellow-tradesmen who were embroiled in family feuds. Sometimes their relations were strained with the bakers of neighbouring burghs, as is shown in the following pacific obligations, extracted from the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, and which were doubtless occasioned by trade disputes.

Edinburgh, 7th June [1598].

John Wylie and other bakers in St. Andrews.

Registration, by Mr Robert Lermonth, advocate, as procurator, of band by Williame Lermonth, Alexander Winchester, and David Averie, citizens of Sanctandrois, for Johnne Wylie, deacon of the baxters in Sanctandrois, Duncane Dunkesoun, George Greg, Andro Dunkesoun, James Duncan, David Russell, James Alexander, Johnne Walker, Robert Walker, David Tailyeour, Archibald and Andro Levingstonis, David Pitcairne, Johnne Mylls, Johnne Greg, David Kynneir, Johnne Hunyman, Williame Duncanesoun, Johnne Buchannane, and James Thomesoun, not to harm Andro Craig, burgess of

Anstruther Wester, Robert, Alexander, and George Hamiltonis, and Johnne Davidsoun, in Craill, under pains in letters against them. Subscribed at Sanctandrois, 5th June, before Thomas Lentoun, Patrik Guthrie, Johnne Martine, citizens in Sanctandrois.

Edinburgh, 14th June [1598].

Registration, by Thomas Craig as procurator, of band by Johnne Alexander of the Croce, and burgess of Anstruther Easter for Robert Alexander, baxter, there, not to harm Johnne Wylie and his colleagues foresaid (Johnne Buchannane excepted), under pains in letters executed against him. Subscribed at Anstruther, 10th June, before Alexander Strang in Innergellie, and Henry Cunynghame, notary, writer hereof.

Registration, by same procurator, of band by Andro Melvill, burgess of Anstruther Wester, for Andro Craig, baxter there, to the effect foresaid. Subscribed at Anstruther, 10th June, before David Wayd and George Traill, bailies of Anstruther Wester, and Henry Cunynghame, notary public.

Registration, by same procurator, of band by Williame Broun, burgess of Anstruther, for George Hamilton, baxter in Anstruther Easter, also to the same effect. Subscribed as above before Andro Melvill, burgess of Anstruther Wester, Williame Melvill, his son, and Henry Cunynghame, notary, writer hereof.

Johnne Strang, elder of Balcasky, for Andro Rikard, baxter in Pittenweyme, £100, not to harm Johnne Wylie and his colleagues foresaid, including Johnne Buchannane.

Registration, by Mr Johnne Dawling as procurator, of band by Johnne Douglas, burgess of Carraill, for Johnne Davidsoun, baxter, burgess there, 500 merks, not to harm Johnne Wylie, deacon of the baxters of Sanctandrois, and his colleagues foresaid. Subscribed at Carraill, 9th September, before Williame Lauder, writer hereof, servitor to Johnne Mackiesoun, clerk at Carraill, and Johnne Dingwall, also servitor to the said Mackiesoun.

A number of bakers took part in some stirring events in the history of the ancient City. There was an old-standing feud between two families, the Arthurs and the Welwoods. One of the Arthurs was a baker named Patrick, and he appears to have been an ill bird out of an ill nest. He was apprenticed to James Alexander on 13th October 1590, and is described as the son of the late William Arthour, of Kairns. The last-named must have died shortly before this. He was the occasion of great offence to the Kirk Session, and had been ordered to appear before it for contumely, on 13th May 1590, as he had been repeatedly warned to appear and had paid no attention. On 21st October, a few days after the date of his son's apprenticeship, the mother of his illegitimate child applied to the Session to make repentance for the child

of the 'umquhill William Arthour, of Carnis.' This was the second child she had borne to him. From one of the entries it would appear as if he was a widower at this time. The guilty couple had submitted to discipline on 19th February 1588, and promised to solemnize the bond of marriage before the next Rood Day, but the promise was never fulfilled. William Arthour, younger, had a similar case on hand, apparently just before his father's death, as the first mention of it in the *Kirk Session Register* is on 27th May 1590. He caused the Session some trouble with the case, but nothing compared to what arose in January 1592 in connection with Jane Monipenny, the daughter of the Laird of Kingkell.

Patrick's own appearances before the ecclesiastical tribunal were for what would now be considered the more venial crimes of Sabbath-breaking and breach of the peace, but in those days of stringent observance and lax morality, the offences might be considered as heinous. On 19th October 1597, he was warned to appear 'for hinging furth of his caser with breid and ressaving ane leid of flowr on the last Sabbath.' He duly appeared and was fined ten shillings, and ordered to make public humiliation. Once again, on 11th April 1599, he was before the Session for infringing the peace of the Sabbath, but this time for playing and casting the hammer. His other appearances were due to his participation in family quarrels. In the quiet of a September Sunday night, in 1598, a decent woman, named Esther Welwood, was startled to hear a gun or pistol shot discharged at her stair. Her house was behind the Kirk, and her sister, who resided in the College Wynd, also heard a shot fired at her stair. There was nothing more natural than to conclude that the shots were the work of their old enemies the Arthurs or some of their confederates. Complaint was made to the Session, and James and Patrick Arthur, with three accomplices, one of whom was William Staig, a baker, were charged with the offence. They all swore that they were innocent, and denied all knowledge of the offenders. No further evidence was forthcoming and the matter was allowed to drop.

One of the family, William, was under the ban of excommunication for participation in the murder of Melville's friend, James Smith, and along with two others, Patrick was charged on 7th August 1599, with 'hanting and drinking' with his relative. He pleaded guilty, and promised not to do so again, unless with the permission of the Minister or Session. It is likely that he would have some difficulty in getting license to drink from either source. Despite his family feud and the dangers that rose from it, Patrick appears to have lived to a good old age. The first reference to him is in connection with his apprenticeship, 13th October 1590, and the last is on 13th September 1651. He does not appear to have secured the highest approbation of his fellow-tradesmen, for he never filled any of the important offices. He frequently served on the Council of Trade, to which he was elected in 1609, and re-elected in 1614, 1621, 1625, 1628, 1629, 1642, 1644, 1645, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1651. The name also appears in the Lists of Members in 1603, 1619, and 1637. Although he was bound apprentice in 1590, he was not admitted as a freeman until 23rd June 1597. Two sons succeeded him in the ranks of the Trade, but the name of neither appears amongst the list of apprentices. The elder was named William, and was admitted as freeman on 28th May 1622; the younger was James, who was admitted twenty-one years later, 27th January 1643. As the clerks were careful to enter whether the parent of the entrant was dead or alive, we may reasonably conclude that Patrick, notwithstanding his stormy youth, lived, at anyrate, to 1651. On 11th June 1631, the Positor was authorized to lend him eight pounds, but no reason is ascribed for this unusual action. The names of the sons do not figure again in the minutes.

In November 1577 and May 1578 there are two minutes dealing with the purchase of wheat; it was agreed on the former date 'yat na pertular brother by quheit or rye at ye Schor' until he had intimated his intention of doing so, and on the latter date that no one should buy there except the deacon. That officer at the time was James Brown, elder,

and his name appears in 1579 in connection with a subject that would be of considerable interest to bakers, and which, undoubtedly, had a connection with the matter of the entries referred to. Brown, as deacon of the bakers, was a member of the Town Council, and he and his colleagues were summoned at the instance of the King's tenants in the lands of Ardocht, Drone, and Kings Barns, who protested against a change which had been made in the size of the measures used in the St. Andrews wheat market. The complaint states that the innovation had been made in the preceding summer, but no doubt the restrictive efforts of the bakers were preliminary to its introduction. The complainers stated that the Council and community, had, without the authority of the King, raised and augmented to an unheard-of extent their firlots and pecks to the extent of a peck or more for every boll. The generous quantity thus exacted constrained the farmers to adopt the new measure, which in itself was a ground of serious complaint, but which was further aggravated by the necessity of having to give another peck to every boll as charity, or, as the bakers would call it, inlaik. An additional grievance was that the Town Council had branded and sealed with the town mark four small firlots, which were less even than the new firlot to the extent of a peck, so that the gentlemen and others dwelling in the neighbourhood of the city who received payment for their ground in the shape of fermes were compelled to receive the same paid in the small measure. After the ferme had been received, measured on the smaller scale, they were compelled to sell in the wheat market at the greater measure, and give in addition the charity of half a peck to every boll of wheat, and a whole peck to every boll of barley and oats. The provost, magistrates, and deacons of trades were accordingly called upon to answer for their action, and those who put in an appearance at Stirling included James Brown, the deacon of the bakers. The case went against the Local Authority, and it was ordered to destroy the new measure, which was not to be used at any future time, and the smaller measure was reinstated for use in buy-

ing, selling, receiving, and delivering, the order to be carried out before the Archbishop and Prior of St. Andrews, in such manner as they might direct, and in presence of such gentlemen as they should please to call with them. The destruction of the new measure and the re-instalment of the old were to take place between the date of the order and the following 24th of May. The decision was to remain in force until such time as the King, at the advice of Parliament, made any alterations regarding the measures in general use throughout the kingdom. One of the magistrates, Bailie Meldrum, who was acting in place of the Provost, Sir Patrick Learmonth of Dairsie, entered a formal protest that the Act should in no way prejudice the defendants or their privileges of the city.

If we are to believe the testimony of Mr James Melville, the devil was very busy amongst the bakers and other townsmen of St. Andrews one summer's evening in early June of 1591. The day's work was over, both in the academic groves and in the various workshops. Students and craftsmen alike were exercising themselves, perchance at archery, perchance at golf, when, suddenly, town and college alike were alarmed by the clanging of the common bell. The craftsmen sprang to their arms, and under bold and determined leadership swarmed against the New College. Here in his upper chamber, the learned and determined Principal, the celebrated Andrew Melville, was confined by sickness 'lippynning for na violence,' when a number of citizens, foremost amongst whom were the bakers, Andrew Balfour, John Wilson, William Morris, David Pitcairn, William Arthur, John Wylie, Robert Walker, John Lawson, James Alexander, and William Peebles, in a barbarous and insolent fashion broke up the 'bak and foiryettis,' climbed the walls, and threw themselves violently against the Principal's door, when they had broken with a long joist the back stair to the chamber, and for some reason, of which the learned Principal was in ignorance, they had the set purpose and determination to have murdered him, had it not been for the providence of God which prevented it, aided effectively by the pacific inter-

vention and efforts of the magistrates. There appear to have been two causes for the tumult, one, and probably the chief, being an outstanding animosity to the Principal of the College, tinged, probably, with an almost inherent and natural opposition of the citizens towards the University; and secondly, the immediate, though probably less important cause, of a maladroit shot of an awkward student of theology, Mr John Caldcleugh, who was practising at the archery butts. The student in question, an earlier opponent of the Principal, was practising at new butts which had been erected in the garden of the College, when one of his arrows found mark that certainly the archer never meant, and landed upon an old maltman of honest repute, and inflicted a scar on the throat, which fortunately, was of no great severity. If it had come from the bow of an unskilled apprentice, no notice might have been taken of the accident, but coming from a member of the University it was sufficient to create an outcry. Shouts rose for the blood of the innocent assailant. The common bell was sounded, and the craftsmen and the common people marched against the head of the College. The latter was not a man to take anything lying down, and he accordingly entered his complaint before the Lords of Session. A number of persons, including the bakers mentioned above, were warned to appear at court. Only a few did, but they included David Pitcairn and William Arthur. The Lords, therefore, ordered two of the bailies to enter into ward within the Castle of Blackness within forty-eight hours, and remain there until the chief authors of the riot were given up. The Town Council and the Deacons of Craft were ordered to enter into a band to treat with due respect 'the Rector, Dean of Faculty, Masters, Regents, Bursars, Students, Scholars, and utheris inhabitantis and privilegeit personis within the University.' They were also ordered to appear each year at the election of the magistrates, and in presence of the Rector give their solemn oath to maintain and defend the privileges of the University and those connected with it, under a penalty of ten thousand marks for failure, which sum, if forfeited,

was to be applied to the use of the poor within the College, or to some common use at the discretion of the Rector or assessors.

The last twenty years of the Sixteenth Century witnessed very turbulent scenes where the bakers, along with other craftsmen, were often in opposition to the University authorities and to the civic powers. We have seen that the misguided shot of the awkward student of theology served the purpose of bringing to light the smouldering discontent against the University. Before this, in 1589, bloodshed and slaughter had resulted from disturbances arising between certain members of the University and some of the inhabitants of the city. An appeal was made to the King, and he, with the advice of the Council, in order that the University might flourish in all good letters and that a perfect union and concord should be established between it and the city, granted a commission to certain noblemen and gentlemen to meet at St. Andrews on the 15th April to examine the most reputable inhabitants of the burgh and neighbourhood, and to investigate the causes of the recent troubles. Their efforts appear to have been inoperative, as is evidenced by the attack upon Andrew Melville. But that energetic ecclesiastic managed to put things on a better footing as far as the relations between the town and University were concerned. But during the same period the citizens were divided against themselves. The elections of provosts and magistrates offered sufficient scope for the introduction of personal jealousies and family aggrandisement. Although there was a nominal connection between the Town Council and the Trades as represented by the membership of the deacons in the former, the members were sometimes at variance with their head in his capacity as a magistrate or as a member of the Town Council. Thus, in the Register of the Privy Council, 1593, there is a bond given by the individual deacons of the Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh for some tradesmen in St. Andrews not to harm the deacons of their respective trades, thus showing a curious community of interest in that the deacons of the

Trades of the Capital became cautioners to provide for the safety of their fellow-deacons in the Fife city. The text of the band is:—

'Alexander Ousteane, deacon of the tailors, Johnne Bellenden, deacon of the skinners, William Cokkie, deacon of the goldsmiths, Henry Lummisden, deacon of the chirurgeons, Alexander Logane, deacon of the baxters, and Johnne Hendirsoun, deacon of the fleshers, all burgesses of Edinburgh, for James Carstairis, flesher, David Pitcarne, baxter, David Myllis, baxter, Robert Imreis, tailor, and William Dais, smith, citizens of Sanctandrois, 100 merks each, not to harm Johnne Wylie, deacon of the baxters, Nicol Mayne, deacon of the wrights, or Johnne Ferry, deacon of the tailors,—James Hoogy, flesher, burgess of Edinburgh, and Arthour Miln, cooper, citizen of Sanctandrois, becoming cautioners in relief, and John Andro subscribing for Alexander Ousteane, Henry Lummisden, John Hendirsoun and James Hagie.'

These bands were common in all classes at that period, and there is another, dated 23rd April 1593, in which Arthur Myln, citizen of St. Andrews, as one of the principals, with a wright and burgess of Edinburgh and another, a glasswright, became sureties for John Young, wright in St. Andrews, in the sum of one hundred marks not to harm John Wylie, the the Deacon of the Baxters, Main, the Deacon of the Wrights, and Ferry, the Deacon of the Tailors of St. Andrews. Another band was registered on 26th March 1593, in which again the Edinburgh deacons became sureties for some St. Andrews citizens, including a large proportion of bakers, the occasion giving rise to it being the municipal squabble that was so much in evidence at this period. Probably this obligation was rendered necessary by the failure of the voluntary burden adopted by the bakers on 18th August 1592, when in consequence of daily disputes and injuries the members bound themselves to live in brotherly love and not to offend the Deacon. The bond is worth giving in full: 'Alexander Ousteane, deacon of the tailors, Johnne Bannatyne, deacon of the skinners, James Robesoun, deacon of the saddlers,

Mungo Hendirsoun, deacon of the cordiners, Josua Mansioun, deacon of the wrights, Paull Masoun, deacon of the masons, and Henry Lummisden, deacon of the chirurgeons, all burgesses of Edinburgh, for William Dais, smith, citizen in Sanctandrois, Williame Duncanesoun, baxter there, Johnne Swerd, armourer there, David Myllis, baxter there, Arthour Myll, cooper there, Johnne Myllis, James Carstairis, flesher, Johnne Hynniman there, Johnne Smith there, David Kynneir there, Johnne Gray, smith there, David Pitcarne, baxter there, Alexander Shairp, baxter there, Johnne Young, wright there, David Blair, saddler there, and Johnne Lausoun, baxter, £40 each, to obey the magistrates of Sanctandrois, and on nowise raise "seditioun, uproar, nor insurrectioun" aganist them in time coming under any colour or pretence. Johnne Andro, Clerk of the Council, subscribes for Ousteane, Lummisden, Dais, Duncaneson, Swerd, Carstairis, Hunnyman, Kynneir, Gray, Pitcarne, and Lausoun.'

The Alexander Sharp mentioned above was a prominent agitator, and played a leading part in a complaint which the Town Council had against certain of the inhabitants, amongst whom the bakers were very prominent. The town authorities complained on 24th March 1592-93, that 'in consequence of "the miserable estait and povertie quhairunto the said burgh is presentlie redactit, pairtlie be occasioun of the lait pestilence and plague quhairwith at the plesour of God it wes visite, and pairtlie be the frequent and intollerable exactionis and burdingis imposit and laid upone the same within thir few yeiris, quhairthrow the haill commoun guid, rentis and patrimonie of the said Cietie is exhaustit and wrakit, and not samekle theirof free as to sustene and beir out the chairgeis of thair commissioneris at parliamentis, generall counsale, and conventionis, and siclyke thair haill commoun werkis, sic as thair peir and shoir thair poirtis and calsayis, quhairwith our said Cietie of auld wes decorit, ar altogidder becumit ruynous and decayit," it had been ordained by act and rollment of their court, in conformity with the act and ordinance of the commissioners of the Burghs, that, "for releiff of thair

commoun guid quhilk wes sa far thirlit," and for support and help of their common works, "the boundis of Pilmure and the north hauch being ane pairt of the communtie of the said burgh, quhilk of befoir randerit na proffeit nor commoditie thairto, sould be sett out in aiker daill be ruid and raip, and roupit to the nychtbouris and inhabitantis thairof." Now, although the complainers, "representing the haill body of the said Cietie, being for the maist part ignorant, gevin to seditioun and insurrectioun," had "causit wairne the saidis commounis be sound of thair bell, according to the ordour, to compeir and gif thair advises to the effectuating and accomplishing of this sa necessar and proffitable a werk," and although most of the said commons "frelie and wilinglie not onlie consentit, bot instantlie craved that the premissis micht take effect," yet the following persons, viz., Alexander Schairp, baxter, Arthour Milne, cooper, Johnne Carstairis, smith, Robert Spens, smith, David Blair, saddler, David Kynneir, baxter, James Duncane, baxter, James Bruce, "wobster," Mairteine Lumisdaine, flesher, David Donnaldsoun, flesher, Johnne Hynnyman, baxter, Robert Richard, "wobster," Alexander Dik, tailor, Johnne Gray, smith, Williame Bruce, "wobster," David Mitchell, Johnne Young, wright, Johnne Dais, smith, Williame Pitcairne, baxter, Alexander Neishe, "tymmerman," David Mylis, baxter, Andro Dipling, millwright, Andro Kay, "cadgear," Alane Mitchell, cooper, George Dais, armorer, Thomas Saig, maltman, and David Sweidy, "cultellair,"—not only "at that tyme disassentit fra the putting of the said act to executioun, without ony guid grundis or occasioun, having na warrand for thame bot becaus these landis wer never of befoir gevin out," but have also since then "directlie opponit thame selffis thairunto, and hes rased and intertenyit ane factioun within the said burgh, quha intendis quhat in thame lyis to stay the effectuating of the said ordinance." Hence the present appeal to the King and Council.—Charge had been given to the said Williame Dais, Williame Duncanesone, Johnne Swerd, David Mylis, Arthure Myln, Johnne Mylnis, James Cairstairis,

Johnne Hunyman, Johnne Smyth, David Kynneir, Johnne Gray, David Pitcairne, and Alexander Shairp, to appear and answer; and now, James Leirmonth, of Dairsy, provost of the said city, Mr. David Russell, Duncane Balfour, Mr William Cook, and Andro Ramsay, bailies, Williame Leirmonth, dean of guild, Alexander Cairstairis, Alexander Wincester, Mr. Johnne Scott, David Watsone, and Mr. Williame Russell, councillors, appearing for the complainers, and the said cited defenders being also present, the Lords, with consent of both parties, ordain Alexander Bruce of Erlishall, James Forrester, provost of Dundie, and Sir James Melvill of Halhill, to be warned by the said complainers personally, and Sir George Dowglas of Elinghill and Andro Wod of Strathfuthie to be warned by the said defenders, to convene in St. Androis upon 29th instant, and there, within three days thereafter, "to sicht and considder the actis and ordinances maid for reving out and manuring of the said north hauch," with the causes moving the complainers to that effect, and also the causes moving the said defenders to retain the same in the state in which it is at present, and to determine which method may be most profitable to the commonweal of the said city,—said referees or the majority of them to decern as appertains, and both parties to conform to the decision to be so given without reclamation or contradiction.'

In 1595, Sharp, and a wright called Sheves, complained against the action of the magistrates in having obtained letters charging them and certain other citizens to enter into ward in the Castle of Dumbarton under pain of horning, and intent, in case of their disobedience, to denounce them as rebels. The complainants proceeded: 'Now, the said letters "ar verie inconsideratelie and unadvisedlie grantit, be the moyane, sinister and wrang informatioun of the saidis provest and baillies, ontwith Counsale, and without tryale or cognitioun preceding, and without ony speciall mentioun maid of ony particulair injurie done be particulair personis to thame, bot onlie of a oppositioun and contradictioun allegeit maid be sum inhabitantis of the said citie aganis thame in a publict

and commoun actioun of the same citie; and, in cais ony offens micht be allegeit done be the saidis complenaris, outhir be thair misbehaviour aganis the saidis magistratis or uthirwayes, thay sould have bene ordourlie callit and convenit thairupoun be particulair and speciall complaintis, and na sic proposterous and extraordinair forme of proceding sould have bene used aganis thame, quhill lauchfull tryale and cognitioun had bene tane in the mater, or sum sentence or declaratour gevin aganis thame. For quhat is this ellis bot to pervert the ordinair and dew course of justice, and as it wer to pronunce a sentence befoir ony lauchfull tryale or convictioun preceding?—a dangerous preparative and example, importing na les the saidis complenaris particulair hurte and skaith then the hurte of all utheris his Majesteis subjectis; quha, be sic extraordinair and proposterous meanis, may be brocht undir grite inconvenient afoir thay be hard to mak thair awne defens. And, giff this letter be sufferit to have forder effect, the saidis provest and baillies will not faill to caus execute the same aganis quhatsumevir personis to quhome they beir ony particulair grudge, albeit they wer of the best affectit citienaris of the said citie and had nevir maid oppositioun to ony of the saidis magistratis procedingis. And, forder, the offens allegeit committit be the saidis complenaris is civile, dipping pairtlie upoun the quantitie and qualitie of thair commoun gude, and pairtlie upoun the previlegeis and liberties of the craftismen of the said citie, to the tryale quhairof the Lordis of Chekker or Sessioun ar onlie jugeis competent,—befoir quhome thay sall justifie all that thay did to be verie lauchfull." Wherefore, the said letters of horning ought to be suspended.—Charge had been given to Mr Williame Murray, provost, Johnne Martine, Williame Moffett, and Mr George Mernis, bailies, of Sanctandrois, to answer this day; and now, the said James Sheves and Alexander Shairp appearing, and the said provost being present for himself and the said bailies, and producing the said letters, together with an act, subscribed by the clerk of the said city, "testifeand the contempt done be the said Alexander Shairp and remanent his collegis

to the said provest," the Lords, after considering the reasons and allegations of both parties, ordain so many of the persons abovementioned as are charged by virtue of the foresaid letters to enter in ward in the Castle of Blacknes, within 48 hours after the date hereof, under pain of rebellion.'

There is no entry in the Records of Alexander Sharp's admission either as an apprentice or as a freeman. He appears, however, to have had a brother called John Sharp, who was admitted as a freeman on 8th June 1550. Alexander Sharp took as his apprentice his nephew, the son of his deceased brother, John, on 11th May 1588. Alexander appears to have been connected with the trade for a very long time, and to have been a very active member of it. He was appointed a member of the Council of Trade in 1576, and continued such with slight breaks up until 1619. His name also appears in the list of members that was drawn up at the last-mentioned date. He was also for a number of years appointed Keeper of the Keys of the Box of the Writings. We get one or two glimpses of him in the *Kirk Session Register*. On 10th February 1573, along with one or two companions, he was charged with the superstitious keeping of Christmas. He and his companions 'denyis al keping of Zwil-day, nor yit that they gaif counsel to the disobedience to the Kirk, and promittit nevir to do the sam in tyme cuming, bot evir to be obedient to the voce of the Kirk.' His next appearance was more creditable to him than to the Session, for on 20th November 1583, he had to appear as a creditor and crave the Session for the payment of £5 0s 8d for bread furnished by him for the Communion during the preceding seven years. In 1593 the city was divided into three parties regarding the appointment of a minister, and on the 10th of May representatives from these three parties appeared before the Presbytery. William Moffat was amongst those representing the Kirk Session. Sharp was included amongst those who appeared in the name of the Town and the community in favour of the appointment of a specific candidate. The third appears to have represented the municipal authorities. It

seems quite a respectable and responsible position to represent the community upon such an eminently sedate question as the appointment of a minister, but Sharp's further appearances are not at all to his credit. On the 15th of February 1593, he, with Deacon Kinnear, Greig, Honeyman, and Walker, were admonished for occupying their bakehouses upon the Sabbath. His wife did not appear to fulfil her Sabbath duties any more cheerfully than he did, for on the 16th April 1595, she was ordered to make humiliation for absenting herself from the hearing of God's word on the Sabbath day. Her name was Agnes Smyth. On the same day her worthy husband appeared charged with a multitude of offences, some of which we would scarcely have expected from so ardent a civic reformer. The entry in the *Register* is: 'Alexander Scharpe baxter is decernit for blaspheme, spokin aganis God the ministeris and magistratis, and for making watter unreverendle in the kirk, to cum Sonday nixttocum upon the hichest degre of the penitent stuill, cled in sek claith, and sitt thair the haill tyme of sermone befoir none and prayaris, and thaireftir to cum down befoir the pulpleit, and ask God the ministrie magistratis and haill congregatioun forgifnes.—The said Alexander Scharp satisfeit this decrete in all thingis.'

Whether the defiling of the church or the churchyard was a general practice or not, there appears to be every reason to fear that bakers were particularly inclined to it, for in the same year the Kirk Session passed a law forbidding abuses in the churchyard, and the entry proceeds: 'And that every maister of hous, maister of scole and baikhoussis, tak diligent cuir of thair barnis and familie, that thai transgres nocht in the premissis; and that nane play in the kirk yaird nor cast stanis upon the sklatis under the pane foirsaid.'

Considerable discussion took place over the practices of Sir Patrick Learmonth, the provost of the city, and certain bailies who acted with him. A supplication was drawn up in which a high tribute was paid to the former government of the city by most godly and wise magistrates, whose whole concern had been for the good of the community, citizens of a town

'quhair vertew and leirning wes fosterit and vice repressit,' but where at the time of the petition the government had been usurped by unworthy persons, more particularly the provost, who had scorned all laws, and in defiance of the provisions which necessitated the annual election to his office, had secured for himself the life rent of it. He had even succeeded in making it hereditary, for his eldest son had been ordained president in his absence. He had abused the provisions of 'the golden Chartour.' He had secured the great customs for himself and for his heirs, and had disponed to his third son the customs of the Corn Market. Even these did not exhaust his misdemeanours, for he had appropriated the common lands and yearly profits thereof which ought to have gone towards the maintenance of the shore, the Kirk, the tolbooth, the ports, and other common works. No wonder that these and many other misdeeds compelled the complainants to appeal to the King and the Lords of the Secret Council to remove the usurpers from office, and to elect successors in a legitimate fashion. Certain commissioners were appointed to inquire into the justice of the complaint, but similar circumstances arose in March 1592-3, when the Privy Council was again appealed to. The provost at that time was James Learmonth of Dairsy. He and his friends were worsted in the election of provost and magistrates, and carried the complaint to Holyrood. Amongst the defendants present was William Moffat. The King and the Lords sustained the election of the new Magistrates and Council, and found that the proceedings had been carried through in conformity with the old methods of election. A proclamation was made at the Market Cross, and the inhabitants were called upon to acknowledge and obey the new magistracy. The angry feelings of the citizens were not to be allayed by a proclamation at the Cross, and a serious conflict broke out, which resulted in Patrick Learmonth being charged before the Session on the 19th of December for attacking the house of the Deacon of the Hammermen, and, along with his companions, wounding the tradesman and several of his friends.

The Rector of the University, as a civil magistrate, took arms, and, aided by certain gentlemen, proceeded against Learmonth and his accomplices. Patrick denied the power of the Session, as they were incompetent to act as judges owing to so many of them having borne arms against him. The Session, however, had no such doubts, and found themselves entitled to proceed, whereupon Patrick denied the accusation and appealed from the Session to the Presbytery. The case again came before the Session on the 26th of December, and the following citizens appeared:—David Russell, William Cook, John Scott, Andrew Ramsay, Patrick Guthrie, George Methven, maltman, Patrick Playfair, Robert Greig, George Greig, Alan Greig, John Wylie, baxter, Andrew Wright, John Wilson, maltman, Walter Finlayson, and John Ferry. They were questioned if they would insist on pursuing the action before the Lords of Session, and if they had subscribed a letter of procuration to that effect. They replied that they had not subscribed nor would they insist in pursuing the action nor oppose the decree for a year. Other citizens and tradesmen held firm to their position, and declared that they had subscribed the letter and would insist in maintaining their contention. Amongst them appeared the name of Duncan Balfour. A number of discontents, including John Wylie, had, on the 11th of December, appeared before the provost and bailies, and gave their oaths that they would yield obedience to the magistrates, but, notwithstanding that, they had broken their promise, and on the 11th of January a number of them were found guilty of perjury by the Kirk Session, but Wylie's name is not amongst those of the offenders. The matter was finished up upon the 20th of January, when a large number of the citizens departed from their opposition, and agreed to yield obedience to the magistrates. The list includes one or two bakers who appear to have taken a considerable share in this municipal squabble.

As we have seen, the relations between the University and the trade were not always of the most pacific nature. The old trade institution has passed away, and the University

is the owner and custodian of the books that record its history for the three hundred years of its existence. It is particularly gratifying, therefore, to acknowledge the kindness of the head of the University, Principal Donaldson—better known to some of us in those earlier days now becoming so distant as 'the Rector'—for his kindly permission to publish the manuscripts, and for the facilities given for their transcription.

Thanks are also due to Dr. Hay Fleming, not only for his interest in the progress of this work and for the ready replies to several inquiries regarding local incidents and institutions, but very especially for his work on *St. Andrews Kirk Session Register*, which has been a veritable mine of information and of invaluable assistance for the period which it covers, from 1559-1600. It was in it that I first found a reference to the manuscript books of the St. Andrews bakers, and learnt of their preservation in the University Library. I cannot, therefore, be too grateful in recognition, or too exhaustive in acknowledgement, of the assistance that I have derived from the result of Dr. Hay Fleming's labours. I have not always stopped in the notes to acknowledge his work as the source of the information, because it is so apparent from whence it came, and because I knew that I would have the opportunity here of acknowledging my indebtedness in the freest and fullest manner. It is only a cause for regret that there are no similar works available to throw such interesting and human lights upon the craftsmen after the period at which the *Kirk Session Register* terminates.

I am also greatly indebted to the Rev. James Robb, M.A., B.D., for his careful transcript and for his painstaking comparison of proofs with the originals. Both duties were very exacting, and sometimes, I fear, must have been wearisome; but Mr Robb's industry and interest never flagged. It is inherent in the nature of the publication that there should be mistakes and possible misreadings, and it is only fair to say that, in consequence of the method of printing adopted, some of these could not be rectified except by a list of corrections at

the end of this introduction. In one instance, a number of alterations were made upon a subsequent examination of the originals after the sheets had been printed.

Although it was originally intended to publish the volume at the end of last year, it was deemed necessary, for Association purposes, to suspend publication.

LONDON, *15th April 1904.*

ERRATA.

Page viii., fourth line from bottom, *for* "Honeyman's" *read* "Honeymans."
Page ix., line 2, *for* "Minutes" *read* "Minister."
Page xvii., line 12, *for* "have" *read* "has."
Page lii., line 34, *for* "craftsman" *read* "craftsmen."
Page lxi., line 25, *for* "examinations" *read* "examination."
Page lxvii., line 22, further investigation of the word "watter" suggests "boattar," as it stands in the text on page 37. If this latter reading is correct it undoubtedly refers to a bolter, or one who had to do with the sieving of the flour. But in the same entry there is a reference to "vattir" boy.
Page lxxii., line 27, *for* "say" *read* "said."
Page 303, line 1, *for* "Smit" *read* "Sunter;" line 3, *for* "Vilzem" *read* "Vylzem," and *for* "James" *read* "Jamis;" line 6, *for* "Balfour" *read* "Balfowr;" line 12, *for* "Fairfuyll" *read* "Fairfwyll," and *for* "Williem" *read* "Wylluem."
Page 304, line 1, *for* "Arnot" *read* "Arnat," and *for* "Muffat" *read* "Mwffat;" line 4, *for* "Cupar" *read* "Cuper;" line 10, *delete* "?1556;" line 11, *for* "Andro" *read* "Androw;" line 16, *for* "Moffat" *read* "Mwffat;" line 17, *for* "17th October" *read* "27th;" line 23, *for* "Honiman" *read* "Hwniman;" line 26, *for* "Moris" *read* "Mwis;" line 32, *for* "Duncanson" *read* "Duncansoun;" line 38, *for* "Jhoune" *read* "Jhonne," *for* "zoungar" *read* "zounger," and *for* "William" *read* "Williame."

LIBER PISTORIAE
CIUITATIS SANCTI ANDREAE.

Tertio Die mensis Junii, Anno Domini, 1548.

THE quhylk Day conuenit in ye gallowlayk, Jamis browne,[1] Decane of ye baxter Craft, and ye layff[2] of ye craft forsayd. And yair enterit with ane consent Jamis browne zowngar,[3] Androw alexander, Robert ryngene, Alexander Dunkane,[4] Maisteris to ye said craft of baxtorie.[5] The quilkis

Admittuntur hii magistri in artem pistoriam.[5]

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[1] James Brown, elder, appears as the holder of the office of Deacon in 1557, 1575, 1577, and 1578. He was also one of those who adhered to the Band of the Congregation of July 1559.

[2] Layff. Rest; the other members.

[3] James Brown, younger, was elected as Deacon of the Trade in 1551, 1558, 1559, and 1563. He signed the same Band as his father in 1559. He is entered in the *Commissariat of St. Andrews* as James Brown, younger, baxter, sometime citiner in St. Andrews, 16th February 1584-5.

[4] Alexander Duncane. Signed the Band of July 1559.

[5] Baxtorie. This is an unusual and almost unprecedented form of the word. In very early days the duty of making bread for domestic purposes was consigned to females, and these were called *bakesters*. Piers Plowman talks of

Baksteres and brewesteres
And bochiers manye.

Later on he gives them as bad a character as did Sir David Lyndsay:—

To punysshe on pillories
And pynynge-stooles,
Brewesters and baksters,
Bochiers and cokes,
For thise are men on this molde
That moost harm wercheth
To the poore peple
That percel-mele buggen;
For thei empoisone the peple
Pryveliche and ofte,
Thei richen thorugh regratrie,
And rents hem biggen,
With that the pooere peple
Sholde putte in hire wombe.

The form baxter was retained in Scotland for a very long time, and in these minute books the trade is referred to as that of the baxters until 1747. In England the term was nearly unknown in trade records, but there is one use of it by the York bakers in 1482. It occurs twice in one rule, but the same rule speaks also of bakers. The employment of the word pistor on the margin is, of course, due to the Latin accomplishments of the clerk. The Roman pistors combined milling and baking and were subject to very severe regulations.

forsaidis maisteris ar enterit deuly conforme to ye puntis off ye instrumentis[6] and Akkis maid concernig yairapone ye enteris & admissione of ye maisteris in & to ye craft forsaid off baxtorie.

Item, the forsaidis new enterit maisteris ar bund and oblyst be ye facht & trewcht in yair bodis to be akkit[7] in ye officialis beukis[8] of Sanctandrois, onder ye payne of cursyne[9] not to tak ane prentis for ye space of xii zeris intocum fallowand ye dait heir off.[10]

Vigesimo die mensis Junii, Anno Domini, 1549.

The quilk day conuenit all ye bredren & baxteris off ye baxter craft dowlland within ye cite off Sanctandrois, in ye

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They were founded into a company by Trojan (98-117 A.D.), and were formed into a College. As in every common trade, families came to adopt their names from that of the bakers. The Scottish form of baxter gives the common surname of Baxter, the English form Baker which is not so common in Scotland, whilst the Latin Pistor has died out, although there were three Perth citizens, Richard, Robert, and Roger Pistor, signed the Ragman Rolls.

[6] Instruments; writings.

[7] Akkit; entered.

[8] Books of St. Andrews. Not only were agreements between members of the trade entered in the ordinary books of the craft, but they were often engrossed in the Municipal books, and even in the Register of the Privy Council. This, no doubt, is the same book to which reference is afterwards made as the Tolbooth Book. As the burgess dues were lower to apprentices than to strangers, it was necessary that the names of those entering the craft should be kept in the town's archives.

[9] The pain of cursing. In those Pre-Reformation days this form of punishment carried with it dread terrors, but in more material and commercial ages it required a bond, the contravention of which affected the transgressors through their pockets. In earlier times faith could be kept by the great oath, in later it required a pecuniary penalty. The expression used above was occasionally employed in the Church Court, where it carried with it the meaning of excommunication. It may have had a similar bearing here and meant expulsion from the trade; but, on the other hand, it may imply that those who broke the agreement would be cursed as mansworn.

[10] It was a very common form of obligation imposed upon entrants to a trade to debar them from taking apprentices for a definite number of years. The object was, of course, to restrict the number of claimants for freedom, and to protect the vested interests of the members and their families. Sometimes, though not often, the restriction was extended to all the members, and it was only enforced when the demands of the tradesmen exceeded the needs of the trade. In the resolution noticed above the period of prohibition is unusually protracted.

gallowlayk, & thair, with ane consent, eleckit & schesit thomas mortowne[1] To be yair Decane.

Decretum duncani sage contra Jacobum symsoun pistorem.

The quilk day, viz., vigesimo Junii, anno 1549, decernit thomas mortowne, decane off ye baxteris, with ye consell and consent of all ye haill craft, in ane caus betuix James symsoun, baxter, and Duncane saige, yat quhair ye said James allegit yat ye said Duncane hed down hym grit skyt in malt makyin, ye quilk skyt ye said James, in presentes off ye saidis decane & hayll craft, gaiff to ye said duncane aicht, and ye aicht being maid solemplie be ye said Duncane, yaireftir ye said duncane, with consent off all ye haill craft as said Is ye Indentur being red and considerit maid betuix ye saidis James & duncane decernit that ye said James Sall pay to ye said duncane four merkis vsuall Mone off scotland[2] within xx dayes heireftir, becaus ye said James refusit ye said Duncane to be in prentischip with hyme conforme to accis maid betuix ye toun and ye said craft.

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[1] This Thomas Morton was a witness in a divorce case heard by the Kirk Session on the last day of February 1559. His deposition was, 'Thomas Myretoun, cietiner of Sanctandrois, baxter, examinate in the causs forsaid, upoun the pointtis of Williames libellate bill, the deponar beand admittet, sworne, and ressavit, be his great aith sworne, depones that he knawis nathing in the causs of adultery, nor of the crymes conteynet in the clame, except that in December twa yeir[is] bypast, or therby, the deponar remembyris in the said Williames awin howss, quhare James Rutherfurde dwelles instantlie, that he and his wyfe wes wrasland togiddir, and in the meyntyme that sche bait him in the arme, quhilk he belevis wes nocht of malice, Margaret Lawsone beand present in the chalmer, *plus nescit*, etc.

[2] The usual money of Scotland was of a very mixed nature. Scots, English, French, and Spanish money circulated indifferently. The Scots currency was abolished by the Union in 1707, and its values were only equal to one-twelfth of Sterling money. Notwithstanding the date of its abolition it continued to be used as a denominator until the end of the 18th Century. In these Records the last reference to it is in 1790 when a member was fined £10 Scots for an infringement of the regulations regarding apprenticeship. On 1st May 1765 the Dunfermline Town Council 'unanimously Statute and Enact that in all time coming after this—The Town Treasurer Accompts shall be drawn out and booked in Sterline or English money and not in Scots money, as has been the byegone practice.' One Pound Scots was equal to 1s 8d sterling, 1 merk = 1s 1⅓d, 100 Pounds Scots = £8 6s 8d sterling, a Shilling Scots = 1d sterling, 1 Plack = ⅓d, 1 Bodle = ⅙d.

The quilk day, viz., quinto Junii anno etc. 1550, It is ackin be ye bredren off baxtorie and thay ar sourin be ye fach^{t} and trech^{t} tactis sacrosanctis dei euangeliis to stand ferme & stabyll with yair decane in all thingis yat Is ffor ye weyll fayr off yair craft and ye towne, onder ye payne of vi merkis to be geuyn to ye hawyn wark.[1]

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[1] Haven Building. Wark was used substantively as a structure or bulwark. The inference here is that at this period building operations were going on at the Haven, and the fines were devoted to its assistance. It was no uncommon thing for fines inflicted upon bakers for cheating the public to be devoted to works of public usefulness, although the most frequent destination was towards the assistance of the poor. In Peebles, on 25th October 1462, the fines were designed to assist in buying a public clock. 'Item, that ilk day the gud men of the quest statut and ordanyt quhat euir scho was that brak prys of brede or all thair sall be tane of her xijd to the bying of a knok.' In 1578 Dundee bakers ordained that no servant should wear his whinger or short sword when at work in the bakehouse, and the fines were to be divided, one half as the Deacon and Council might direct and the other was dedicated to the repairing of the Cross Kirk. These were more useful, not to say dignified, forms of punishment than being dragged through the streets of London on hurdles or of swinging over muddy ponds in the schubstuhl or bakers' baskets of some of the German towns. The haven of St. Andrews had a chequered career. In its halcyon days, during the height of the Senzie Fair, it sheltered two or three hundred vessels from France, Holland, and Flanders; in 1656, an English commissioner reported on one vessel of twenty tons, and in 1770, Pennant found one large vessel sufficient for the requirements of the people. The contributions of the bakers and other townsmen appear to have been inconsiderable, for a few years after, when the Cathedral was 'dung doun,' some of the sacred stones were put to the secular use of repairing the haven. But even these failed to secure it, for as related in the Introduction, its ruinous condition is referred to in the disturbance between the Town Council and the inhabitants. In the Register of the Privy Council, under date of 1593, it is stated 'that fyve hundred merkis quhilk hes beine already liftit of taxt to the support of the heavin wark' was to be accounted for, and it was further enacted that the tax 'for help and support of the harberie and heavin be collected and ingaderit, quhilk has beine neglectit and nawayis collectit thir four yeiris bipast, to the effect the said heavin may be repairit, now being altogidder ruynous.' Its state long continued to be a source of anxiety and trouble to the municipality. It was seriously damaged by a winter storm in 1655, and again, after nearly a century, the historic ruins of the city were placed under contribution. This time it was the Castle that attracted the vandal attention, and the timber and slates were sold to assist the repairs. But they did not realise enough, and the magistrates looked round amongst their friends. They did not find them in the neighbouring town of Dundee. Other towns contributed to the expense, but the contribution of Dundee was so small that the Town Council minuted its opinion that it had been offered 'rather in scorn and derision than of neighbourlie affection,' and they would have none of it.

Festo corporis christi, viz., xvi die mensis Junii, anno domini, 1552.

The quilk day & zeir, robert kenloquhye, sone to duncane kenloquhye, baxter, & burges, & gyld, off ye cite of sanctandrois, is admittyt maister to ye baxter craft, his fader beand baxter, burges, & gyld, & payand yairfor xs, alff ane merk, ane pund of vax, & ye vyn and xiid to ye chaplane of sant cobert alter & viiid to ye clark. Robert Kenloquhye maister.

Vigesimo secundo mensis, novembris anno domini, etc. Liii.

The quilk day dawyd scot & thomas trayl, prentyces to duncane Kenloquhi, ar admyttyt lawfull prentyces to ye said duncane and hes payt yair pundis of vax & yair alff ane merk respectiue to ye alter, at ye command of alane broune, decanen, befor yir vytnes. dauyd mylys,[2] baxter, siris thomas currur, thomas vemys.[3] Admissio dauidis scot et thome trayll prentices.

Quarto Junii anno domini 1556.

The quhilk day it is statut be ye breder onder vrytyn and are oblyst to ack yair selfis in ye tolbewcht buk of yis cite of santandrois not to tak ane prentis for ye space of xii zeris fallowing ye dayt heirof bot ane nebur soun, nor contrat maregis bot vyt newburris barnis of yis cite of santandrois,[1] actum in galloulayk

[2] David Mylis. David Mylis was admitted a freeman in 1549, acted as positor in 1555 and 1557, and became deacon in 1566. In 1568, along with another, he became surety for Henze Leythe, cook of the auld College, and Mareoun Dick in a case before the Kirk Session. He also figures in the turmoil of 1592. His name appears in the Commissariat Record of St. Andrews as baxter, citener of St. Andrews, 10th November 1590.

[3] Sir was a title of respect and honour generally applied to priests, and for some time after the Reformation to ministers of the new faith. Readers of *Westward Ho* will remember its application to Sir John Biddlecombe. In the *Register of the Kirk Session*, Sir Thomas Wemys is mentioned as having signed the bond already referred to, and on 10th March 1559, he signed, along with other clerics, a vehement recantation of his former opinions and a sweeping denunciation of the Pope and all his works. Dr Hay Fleming suggests his identity with the Chaplain of Leuchars (*New Statistical Account of Fifeshire*, p. 223).

[1] The above entry illustrates what reference has been made to as a wholesale limitation of apprentices. In the former extract the obligation was only laid upon the new entrants to the craft, but here it is extended to all the bakers of

of ye quhilkis yair namis fallowis, georgis hutone, thomas steyne, thomas valkar, Jone valkar,[2] Willem vaker, James broune, zoungar, & James broune, elder, alane broune, villem hendersoun, Jone vale,[3] hendre fairfull, dauid mylis, villem nore, alexander pittillok, thomas wane, Jone symsoun, Jone robertsoun, androw alexander, villem pittarne, duncane dawesoun, robert thomsoun, James symsoun, alane steynsoun,[4]

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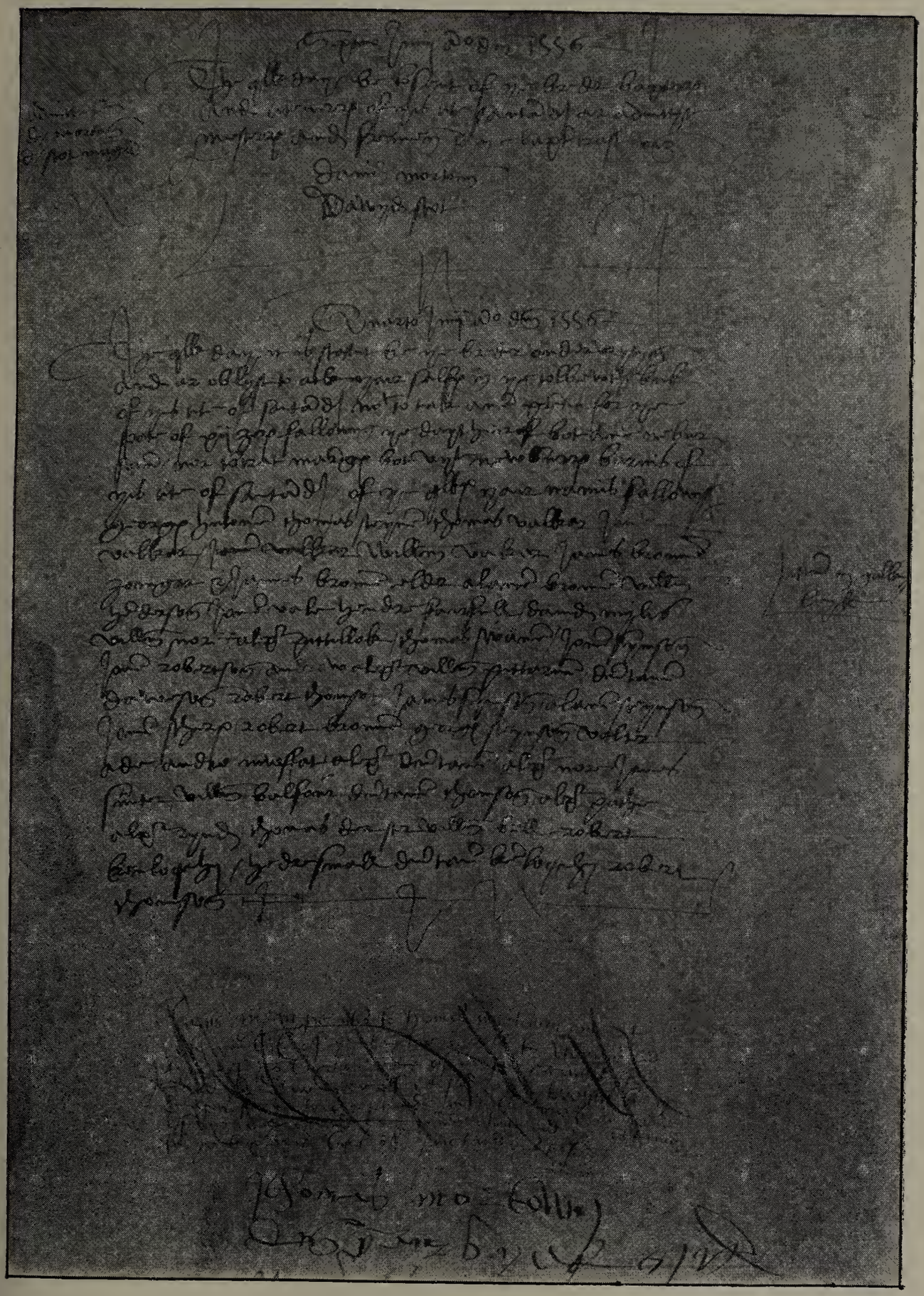
the city. It was not, however, so stringent as it would have been had it included within its scope the repudiation of neighbours' sons. Whilst it was an invariable rule to extend privileges to the sons-in-law of members and to those who married bakers' widows I recall no instance of a denying ordinance that limited the matrimonial choice of tradesmen. Sons enjoyed privileges in their own rights, and these were conveyed to their widows and children. But the neighbours' daughters, whose interests are so tenderly guarded here, if they were the offspring of craftsmen, would confer craft privileges upon their husbands. It is permissible to conclude that this scheme was founded upon local patriotism and a common self-interest, by which the membership of the Incorporated Trades would be restricted, and the matrimonial chances of the daughters would be preserved. The minute is adopted by all the members of the trade, and whilst the former portion of it would be effective towards all, the latter part would have something of an impersonal character to many who were up in years, and who were blessed with worthy help-mates. Perhaps the match-making propensities of the motherly hearts had something to do with the peculiar decision. Something like a mild form of coercion must at times have been exercised upon eligible young craftsmen by the crafty parents, for in 1778 it was decided in Munich, that no master starting business was to compel himself to marry a master's daughter or widow, unless his free inclinations lead him, but if he thought to carry on business unmarried he was expected to lead a Christian and honourable life.

[2] Walker was admitted as a freeman in 1549, served as positor in 1574, 1575, and 1582, and as deacon in 1579 and 1580. He appears to have been elected a deacon of the church on 12th October 1571.

[3] Wylie was one of the most active and turbulent spirits in connection with the trade during its earliest periods. He was admitted a freeman in 1554, and very frequently acted as deacon. He was first elected to that post in 1576, and was re-elected in 1582, 1584, 1586, 1589, 1590, 1591, 1592, 1597, and 1598. He took an active part in the civic and religious affairs of the city, especially in reference to the election of the provost and magistrates, and was one of those whom the Kirk Session found perjured and worthy of censure in 1593. In January 1593, along with Andrew Thomson and Thomas Young, he was admonished by the Kirk Session to keep the Sabbath and preaching days holy.

[4] Alan Stevenson, like a good number of his craft before and after his day, was troubled with his *Xantippe*. But most of them manage to preserve secrecy on their household troubles, and even hope that no record of them can remain to be published to their successors in the trade three centuries and a half after they have passed to the peace beyond these voices. On 4th October



Example of an Early Page.

Jone scherp,[5] robert broune, georgis steynsoun, valter ade,[6] andro mwffat, alexander duncane, alexander nore, James sunter, villem balfour,[7] duncane thomsoun, alexander pathe, alexander rynd, thomas demster, villem bell,[8] robert kenloquhy, hendre small, duncane kenloquhy, robert thomsoun.

1564, the Kirk Session concerned itself with the case of 'Bege Gwynd, spows of Alan Steynson, baxtar, delated callit accusit and convict of mys-saying and bannyn of the said Alan hyr husband, and otherwayis mysbehavying hyr owardis hym. Sche is monist to forbear in tym cuming, under payn of public satisfaccion mackyn tharfor in the essemble of the kyrk.' (*Register*, vol. I. p. 225). Alan Stevenson was a family name in the Fifeshire family from whence sprang Robert Louis Stevenson. Perhaps he derived his mastery of language from a progenitor.

[5] On 18th October 1555, John Scharp took as his apprentice David Barclay. In the *Kirk Session Register*, vol. I., p. 446, an Elizabeth Young confessed herself to be with child to John Sharp. Notwithstanding the reference in the Introduction to the similarity of names in such cases, one is inclined to credit this accusation to the baker of that name, because he involved a baker in another charge, and appeared to be on familiar terms with the latter as well as with Elizabeth. He declared that David Thomson had dealings with her in the mill, and, on 17th February 1579, David Thomson, baxter, confessed to time and place. I find no mention of Thomson's name in the minutes.

[6] Walter Ade. Ade was another of the townsmen who signed the general bond at the Reformation. If this is the same person, he fell away in 1560, for he was censured and disciplined by the Church and handed over to the magistrates for civil correction for saying blasphemously to one of the deacons of the Church who was giving out Communion tokens or tickets: 'Will ye give me ane techet to be served the Divellis dirt? I sall by ane poynt of wyne and ane laif, and I sall haif als gude ane sacrement as the best of them all sall haif.'

[7] William Balfour. William Balfour was a witness in 1575 in a case of witchcraft in which Marjory Smith was charged. Balfour's evidence was simply formal, but the poor woman was charged with taking sickness away in childbirth and transferring it to a nurse, whom, however, she afterwards cured. After Balfour's evidence, another witness stated that his cow gave no milk, and because his daughter reproved and accused the poor woman she was charged with causing sickness to come upon her, although the accused said there was nothing wrong with the girl and she would soon be all right, which no doubt probably would have been the case. She and her husband departed from the town because they were afraid—a thing in those days not greatly to be wondered at.

[8] William Bell. Bell was one of those who accepted the new conditions of life under the new dispensation, but yet had a hankering for the fleshpots. In 1574 he was charged before the Kirk Session for attaching too much sacredness to Christmas. He was 'dilatit for keping of Zwil haly, and in spetial on Newar-day last was, in his hows, the sam being ful of lychtis and mony in cumpany, hymself cryit wyth lowd voce, superstitiously, Zwil! Zwil! Zwil!! William denyit the sam. The seat ordanit the dilation to be provin this day

Vigesimo die mensis Junii anno domini 1557.

Jacobus hay admittitur magister.

The quilk day James hay, lawfull prentis to villem rynd, baxter and citener of yeis cite of santandrois, examinyt be dauid mylis, positor, thomas steyne, Jone scherp, vith oderis dywers schosyng be ye decane to yat effect, is admyt maister to ye craft of baxterrye And hes payt to ye craft vi lib in hand, xiid to me yair schaplane onder vrytyne, viiid to thomas demster, yair schargant.[1] Ita est magister petrus capellanus altaris sancti coberti et notarius publicus.

[28th October 1558.]

Jone myller prentis solutis.

The quilk day Jone myller is admyttit lawful prentis to thomas steyne, baxter citener of yis cite santandrois, hes pait his pund of vax to ye alter of sant cobert, resauit be dauid mylis positor, & vis viiid to Jone vilsoun at command of James browne, elder, decane, in presens of ye craft in ye gallowlayk congregat, and yat for ye baring of ye banar.[2] Ye quhilk Jone miller is vrytyne in yis buk be me maister peter lawsoun, schaplane of ye alter forsayd. Ita est magister petrus lawsoun manu propria.

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aucht dayis, and William Bel to be warnit to oppone and object aganis the witnes.' There is no further entry regarding the case. Under the iconoclastic tendencies of the Reformers the celebrations and festivals of the Old Religion got little consideration, but the people, and especially the tradesmen, clung to them. In the *Kirk Session Register of Perth* it is stated that on 10th January 1596-7, 'William Williamson, baxter, is accused for baking and selling great loaves at Yule, which was slanderous, and cherishing a superstition in the hearts of the ignorant. He promises not to do the like in times coming.' Christmas was the only time at which the bakers at York were allowed to make large loaves.

[1] Sergeant. This is the only entry referring to this official. Why the term should be used here, and here only, it is impossible to say. No doubt it is only another name for the officer. In the Coventry MSS. there are very many references to the Sergeant of the Company; and the maintenance of the trade observances perpetuated the office. In the Guild of the Bakers of Exeter the wardens had full power to make 'serche, with a sergent, att all hoggesters houses,' for bread brought from outside the city.

[2] Here again we have another solitary reference. What the banner was like, and when it was used, are questions which cannot be answered, and upon which no information can be given. It, or something similar, however, is frequently referred to as the 'pensil.'

[1st June 1564.]

James browne, zounar, his compt maid of vi lib deliuerit to hym be sande nore is restand award to ye said James viis viiid, & xiis vid quhilk ye said James gaif to agnes pitbradw.[1]

[25th March 1566.]

The quihilk day yat robert arthur is enterit mester off craft vnto ye sad baxtar craft hes receuit his duety to toun and craft as act[2] med declaro vbriora forma betuix ye sad belzeis and craft videlicet ye denagildis ticet[3] sen or en in (sic) his absens plesed be ye sad denagild ve seeing ye sad ticet as brythe off ye sad craft vith consent and assent off ye sad deacon thomas mourtoun for ye tym admittis him as an sad frie man to toun and craft and lauffully therto yis act admittit Into our buks off ye sad buk of baxters subscryuit be ye sad deacon In ye first day off apryl ye zeir off god a thousand fyue hundreth thre scor and fyue zeris

Thomas mourtown.

Die xv Junii anno 1576 the haill craftis being gedderit besyde ye gallohill statutis and ordanis and consentis that nane presume or tak vpoun hand to bak ony saill breid vpoun ye sabboth day to pay viiis to be employd to ye pure.

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[1] This entry probably indicates an act of charity on behalf of the trade.

[2] The Town Council of Aberdeen, upon 22nd December 1579, 'resoning upone the exorbitant and gryt compositionis takin be the deconis of the craftis of this burght, fra craftismen and breder of the craft, in admytting thame fre of thair craft, aganis thair previlegeis, haiff statut, devysit, and ordanit, that in all tymes cuming, the decain of everie craft sell present the person of craft creven to be admittit frie of the said craft, to the deinis of gild of this said burght, as ane worthie and qualifeit craftisman to be admitted to the town free of his craft, efter dilligent tryell and examinatioun of thair habilitie be the said craft; and that the decanis of thair craft sal nawayis compone withe thame, quhill the person creven to be admittit free of his craft first compone with the said deinis of gild, and be admittit frie be the toun, the maisterstik of the persone to be admittit being exhibit and producit in judgement; and giff ony decain heirefter contraveinis this present ordinance, and acceptis the contrair of the premises, the contravenar to pay als mekill to the deinis of gill of this burght of his awin purss as he happinnit to tak for the compositioun of the craft, and that in presens and withe consent of the deaconis of the saidis craftis.'

[3] Dean of Guild's ticket or the burgess certificate.

The xv day of ye moneth of Junii, ye zier of god Jaj vc. lxvi zeris, dauid myllis, deken ot ye baxteris, within ye citie of sanctandrois, with ye rest of ye brethren of ye said craft being conuenit wpoun ye gallohill, statuttis & ordanis that nane of yir sad brethren quha hes decisit fra baking in tyme bygane yat thay baik not quhill yir owkis pennies on pait be fyrst pait and yat na fornessir baik thame bakin meit vnder ye pane of viiis to be pait be ye furnessir to ye weill of ye said craft.

N.B.—The first entry in Book II. is dated 1574, and the last in this Book 1566, so that eight years' record is awanting.

[BOOK II]

THE BAXTERS BOOK.

BOOK II.

[On the fly-leaf of Book II., the following entry appears—The blank page has been utilised by an Eighteenth Century scribe to record the voting for the candidates for Boxmaster. The style is followed in the voting in the Forfar Tailor Trade, and appears to have been that in which the votes were registered.]

St Andrews 29th May 1738

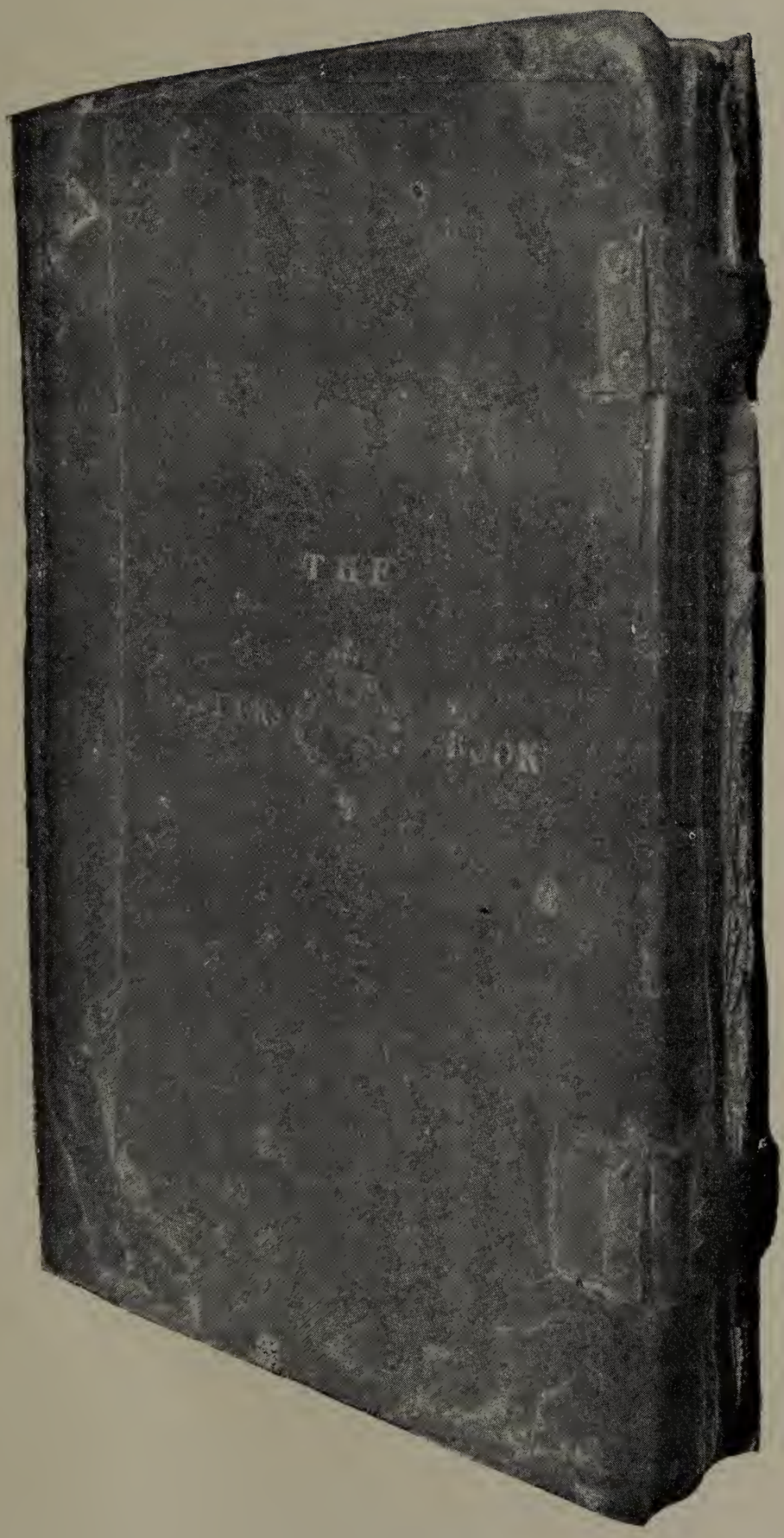
Box Masters Leet

Andrew Honeyman
David Walker
David Tod

32 S. F D

[The following (evidently the voting for deacon) is inserted two pages further on, doubtless because there was a blank space.]

1655	1656
William levingstoun	piter duncansone
piter duncansone	Wm levingstoun
Jon bred	Jon honyman
Johnne mortoun	Jon mortoun
Pat Walkar	Jon Bred
Johnne bruce	Pa: Walkar
	Jon Bruce
	Jon Broun



Second Minute Book.

32 S. F D

Wpoun the thrid day of Julii, the zier of god, Jaj vc. lxxiiii zeris, alexander norie grantis and confessis him to haif Ressauit, reallie and with effect, fra the handis of brethren of the baxtaris of the citie of Sanctandrous, the soum of fyftie merkis wsuall mone of Scotland, for the alienatioun[1] [of*] to yem of his rycht of ane tenement of land sauld and annaleit be him lyand in ye citie in ye north gait and north syde yairof, betuix the tenementis of andro meffen at ye eist, the airis of hendre small at ye vest; of ye quhilk sowm of fyftie merkis, monie forsaid, the said alexander haldis him weill content and pait and yairfor for him, his airis, executores, and assignais, exoneris, deschargis, and quitclamis the brethren of the said craft of baxtarie within yis citie, yair airis, assignais, and successores, quhatsumeuer [preceding*] for now and euer, vpoun ye quhilkis premiss alexander patie, deken for the tyme, in name of his brethren, fra me notar publict vnderwrittin tuk act and instrument in ye notar houss at xi houris befoir noon[2] Befor thir witness hendre fairfull and dauid rekart,[3] with walter lausoun, notar publict. *deleted. *deleted.

Ita est valterus lausoun notarius publicus in premissis Requisitus manu sua scripsit.

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[1] Conveying or disponing property; the word is still employed in legal documents.

[2] The words here undoubtedly refer to the act of giving possession. If the house was held under a burgage tenure the property was resigned into the hands of magistrates by delivery of a staff and baton, and the magistrates thereafter gave infeftment in favour of the disponee. If the property was held under a feu, possession was given by the act of delivering on the ground or lands or property sold, possession by appropriate symbols, to the purchaser. The ceremony was performed in presence of a notary and witnesses, and the instrument known as the Instrument of Sasine recorded the ceremony and the warrants upon which it proceeded. The ceremony could be performed at any time, but the instrument had to be recorded within sixty days of its date.

[3] D. Rickart. On the 15th of December 1568, Christen Geddye claimed marriage of David Richard on the strength of a promise made to her by him. The promise was referred to his oath, but he swore that he never made it, and the Session absolved him from the claim. On the 14th June 1598, along with William Vtene and Thomas Oliphant, Richard was called before the Session and accused of drunkenness. They all confessed their fault, and promised amendment, and were ordered to make humiliation upon the following Sunday as a warning to others not to commit the same fault.

This buke was maid in The moneth of october The zeir of god 1573.

Heir fallouis the names of the brethren of the craft of baxtorie craft for that tyme. In The first, alexander patie, deken; Jhonne Walie, Positour.

1, dauid myllis
2, dauid edie
3, alane steuinsoun
4, James broun, elder
5, Thomas stephin
6, William Steuinsoun
7, dauid Scott
8, Johnne Walcar
9, James edie
10, James broun, zoungar
11, Walter edie
12, hendre fairfull
13, archebald leuingstoun
14, george wteyn[1]
15, William pitcarne
16, Robert arthoure
17, Robert Thomsoun
18, George Zuill
19, alexander duncane
20, hendre duncansoun
21, andro duncansoun
22, William Saige
23, dauid zoung
24, duncan dauidsoun
25, Johnne stirk
26, Walter coupar
27, Robert balfour
28, William balfour
29, William Traill
30, alexander norye
31, william walcar
32, william bell
33, Johnne hunyman[2]

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[1] Vtein appears to have been afflicted with a thorn in the flesh in the person of his wife, Gelis Symsoun. She was charged on the 15th November 1570 with various offences against the Church, her husband, and her neighbours. She was forbidden to sell candle and bread on Sundays, admonished for not attending the church to hear God's word, charged for mis-calling and being disobedient to her husband. For these offences she was put under a penalty of £10, and to sit in the jougs for twenty-four hours, and was likewise dilatit for flyting with her neighbours and selling bread during the time of sermon on Sundays. This reprimand had little effect upon the worthy lady, for upon the 19th of December 1576, 'Gelis Symsoun is decernit of hir awin propir confessioun, that gyf evir sche sal in tyme cuming be dilatit to be ane bannar or blasphemar of hir husband, or not to cum to the sermon on the Sabbat day, to sit in the gok stule xxiiij howris.'

[2] John Honeyman. Honeyman's name appears as a witness to an entry in the *Kirk Session Register*, in which David Gourlay and Mungo Forten came under obligation to give satisfaction for the adultery of Forten with Christene Alane. Honeyman signed in conjunction with John Pittillok, officer, and a mailmaker named David Watson. This was probably the first of the Honeyman dynasty. He had been admitted a freeman on 1st June 1564, and his son,

34, william muffat[1]
35, william rynd
36, dauid rekard
37, dauid stephin
38, andro bell
39, James alexander
40, dauid edye
41, dauid myllis, zoungar

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the second John Honeyman, was admitted upon 19th October 1591. In 1593 he, along with David Kinnear, the Deacon of the Trade, and George Greig, Alexander Sharp, and Robert Walker, were all admonished not to occupy their bakehouses upon Sundays. In 1594 he was Deacon of the Parish Church, along with his fellow-culprit, David Kinnear. In the duty of collecting the alms and distributing them to the poor of the North Parish, he had to act in the third quarter. This district stretched from Andrew Ramsay's house to the Port, including the College Wynd. In 1600 he again appears as one of the deacons of the Church. In the Commissariat of St. Andrews there is an entry of Elspet Walker, some time spouse to John Honiman, baxter, 9th August 1586, and under date of the 7th June 1616, appears John Honiman, baxter, citiner of St. Andrews.

[1] On 20th January 1573, William Moffat became cautioner for Margaret Nicoll in a case of alleged adultery. On the 15th of November 1581 he again figured as a cautioner, but this time to a person of somewhat higher position, James Wemyss of Caskieberran, and the Session ordered the act to be extracted out of the Town's book. The amount of caution which he was obliged to pay for the benefit of the poor was £6. On 22nd April 1590, he was appointed a visitor to see that people did not absent themselves from church services, and on 10th March of the same year he was appointed as an assistant to the elders in their duties. On the 9th May 1593, we learn of him meeting in the Session in company with such men as the famous Andrew Melville, Rector of the University, and the Principal of St. Leonard's College. At this time there was a burning ecclesiastical question agitating the townsmen in reference to the appointment of an assistant minister. There were three parties, and Moffat sided with those desiring the Presbytery 'to had hand to the establishing of thair ministrie in the persoune[s of] Maisteris Dauid Black and Robert Wallace.' On 13th June he was appointed one of four commissioners to appear before the Presbytery. In November he appeared with other parties before James VI. at Holyrood as a party in an appeal against the election of the Provost and Magistrates, of the latter of whom he appears to have been appointed. The election was sustained, and he consequently from that date appears in the Session Sederunts as a bailie. His district stretched from the Kirk Wynd and College Wynd west to the Market Gate Port on both sides of the gate, which district he shared with Charles Watson, scribe. On 26th December a fellow-tradesman, John Wylie, and others were summoned before the Session for uproarious behaviour at the election of Magistrates when Moffat had been re-elected a bailie. After several meetings the dispute was amicably settled. His name appears in the election of elders on 1st November 1594, and on 18th June 1595 he was elected commissioner to the General Assembly at Montrose, which was to be held there on 24th June. In 1597 he was again included amongst the elders, though not as a bailie, and his district was from the Fowle Waist west to the Port. The last entry in which his name appears is 21st July 1598, when he was appointed to collect the tickets for the communion. Altogether Moffat,

42, Johne thomsoun[1]
43, andro valcar
44, alexander walcar
45, Thomas mortoun
46, Thomas thomsoun
47, James norye
48, Johnne lausoun[2]
49, alexander Scherp
50, Symon wischert
51, dauid staig
52, Thomas edie
53, dauid mors
54, Johnne kynneir
55, Thomas muffat
56, george greig[3]

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who was a member of the Town Council, an elder, a Commissioner to the General Assembly, a party at the Palace of Holyrood, and a Deacon of his Craft, appears to have played a prominent part in the civic life of St. Andrews.

[1] John Thomson. In 1579, 29th July, John Thomson, baker, and William Turpy were called before the Kirk Session for the slaughter of David Simpson, and were desired to acknowledge their offence to take away their slander, to make public repentance. They desired eight days' respite to give their answer, which was granted to them. At the next sitting of the Kirk Session they were ordained to present themselves upon the following Sunday to be openly admonished, to make their repentance for Simpson's murder. Simpson's and Turpy's names were mixed up in a previous case before the Session, when, on the 10th November 1569, William Turpy endeavoured to prove that a Margaret Brown had not been innocent when he made her acquaintance, and he produced Simpson's wife to give evidence that Margaret Brown had confessed that three years before she had given birth to a child. Another witness had extended the evidence by declaring that Margaret Brown confessed that the child's father was Turpy.

[2] John Lawson. Lawson appeared before the Kirk Session on the 28th November 1565, charged with committing fornication with Bege Powerd, which resulted in the birth of a child. The woman had been convicted of a similar offence with another man, and Lawson and she confessed their offence and were handed over to the civil authorities. On 16th September 1573, Lawson became surety for a sailor in a similar case. On the 5th May 1574 he again appears before the Kirk Session, but this time charged with adultery with Margaret Wischart, wife of Alexander Laing, and confessed to the fault, and the parties submitted themselves for correction and discipline to the Kirk. The last reference to him in the Register is in connection with similar cases, when he was warned to appear on the 20th June 1582, this time, however, only as a witness.

[3] In March 1575 Greig appeared before the Kirk Session charged with being the father of a child by Janet Miller, daughter of Alexander Miller. He confesses to the intercourse, but doubts the paternity, and states his willingness to accept the oath of the woman as to whether the child was his or not. This she was quite willing to give, and swore by invocation of the eternal God that it could only be Greig's, as she had had to do with no other man. On the 27th April the father produced a claim against Greig for the seduction of the daughter, and on the 4th of May Greig appeared and handed in his answers in writing, and the matter was continued for eight days. On the 24th August

57, dauid kynneir[1]
58, dauid coupar
59, James hay
60, Hendre Jamesoun[2]
61, duncane duncansoun
62, dauid mortoun
63, William Symsoun
64, williame peblis

William Ferry, presumably a lawyer, produced a discharge from the General Assembly discharging the Kirk from proceeding against George Greig, and compelling him either to marry or endow Janet Miller. The Session appointed that day eight days to give their deliverance. An erased entry upon the register states that they would consider 'quhethir they wald obey the said chairg or not, or ellis to see quhat they think best to be don in the mater.' His name appears again on the 15th of January 1583, in an entry of a similar character concerning his servant, Issobel Kedzow, and again on the 15th of January 1586, when he became caution for Catherin Ged, who had borne a child to John Duncan, who had admitted the paternity to James Duncan, John Miller, and David Wilson. Greig's responsibility as surety was that Ged should enter into prison under pain of £10. The next entry of his name in the Register is in conjunction with those of some of his fellow-tradesmen regarding the election of the Provost, and the last was in 1593, when he and some of his colleagues were censured for using their bakehouses upon Sunday. In the Commissariat of St. Andrews, under date 12th October 1592, appears the name of Elizabeth Brown, some time spouse to George Greig, baxter, citiner.

[1] Kinnear was cautioner on the 28th December 1575 for a Bessie Forman in a Kirk Session case. The next time his name appears in the Register is under date of 13th May 1579, when his servant, Christine Bawdy, who had confessed to be with child to James Brown, but he stated that the father was Thomas Henderson, a servant of David Kinnear, and that the first connection had taken place in David Kinnear's barn in the West Burn Wynd. He appears to have been troubled with his servants, for on the 15th January 1586, another female, Christine Anderson, confesses to improper conduct in Kinnear's house with a Culross man. He made his appearance before the Session on 1st January 1588 in a much better character, for along with his fellow-deacons of the various trades, he desired in the name of God, according to God's command, to take order with the brethren of the Trade that the holy Sabbath day might be kept holy, and that steps should be taken to secure a better attendance of the people at sermons at all times. The Dean of Guild and each deacon of craft had promised to convene their individual trades and to report to the Session within eight days. Notwithstanding the expression of this desire Kinnear, as Deacon of the Baxters, along with several of his colleagues, was admonished on the 15th February 1593 for keeping his bakehouse open upon the Sunday. In 1594 he was one of the deacons of the Kirk, and undertook the collection and distribution of alms in the first quarter of the city, which extended from the North Gait Port to Andrew Carnis hous, including the Fischer Gait.

[2] Amongst the poor persons upon whom blue gowns were bestowed on 19th June 1583, appears the name of Henry Jamieson, and along with the gown a purse and 17s were presented in name of the king, so that each of them should pray for his majesty daily. The recipients were to sit altogether in the Parish Church of St. Andrews, each clothed in his blue gown.

65, alane wilsoun, officer
walter lausoun, notar publict, clerk of the Said craft
66, Thomas hendersone[1]
67, robert walkar[2]
68, James thamsoun[3]
69, James doucann[4]
70, Jhonn liwesoun
71, Dauid Russell
72, Dauid Dewar

[N.B.—16 of these names are written by a different person from the original writer and have probably been inserted at a later date. The numbers are in quite a modern hand.]

The namis of ye baksters of Standrus nominat and Gevin vp be andrew duncansone, deacon of ye baksters, in ye zear of God 1623.

1, Johne mylis
2, Andrew duncansone, deacon
3, George moffatt, positor
4, andrew honiman
5, Robert valkar
6, alexander mortoun
7, Johne levingstone
8, patrik arthour
9, Johne duncansone
10, George Grig
11, Archebald levingstone
12, James alexander
13, William arthour
14, Thomas month
15, dauid Russell

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[1] See note on Kinnear on preceding page.

[2] Robert Walker. Robert Walker was one of the bakers admonished for occupying their bakehouses on Sundays in 1593.

[3] James Thomson. In November 1594 Thomson was elected a deacon of the South Parish, whilst at the same time a number of his fellow-tradesmen were elders and deacons in the North Parish. He was again a deacon in 1595, but on 20th October 1596 there is an entry that the whole members of the Session had nothing urged against their reputations or credit with the exception of James Thomson, who was charged with not keeping the hours and times appointed for his convening. He was disobedient to the magistrates and 'ane evill payer of his dettis, and he was removed from office.'

[4] James Duncan (see note under Greig). On 7th December 1597 James Duncan was warned to appear before the Session for resetting an excommunicated person, named Henry Moreis, and on Wednesday, 12th September, he and his wife, Janet Miller, were ordained to make repentance in sackcloth on the following Sunday for this crime, and the magistrates were to be requested to hold an inquest upon their conduct. Moreis appears to have been Henry Moreis, in Strathkiness, who figured in a very large number of Session cases, and had been excommunicated for his conduct. He ultimately expressed contrition, and was condemned to stand in the porch door clothed with sackcloth, barefooted and bareheaded, between the ringing of the second bell and the reading of the text, and then to proceed to the penitent stool, and this he had to do each Sunday until the Church expressed its satisfaction with his repentance.

16, Thomas diksone
17, dauid valkar
18, patrik valkar
19, dauid Tailzeour
20, alexander thomsone
21, Charles small
22, Robert honiman
23, dauid mylis
24, George small
25, Johne valkar
26, Johne buchannan
27, william pitcarne
28, James duncansone
29, Thomas mylis
30, Abraham Thomsone
31, William honiman
32, Thomas buchannan
33, Thomas Grig
34, Jo^{n} Myllis
35, James Pitcairne

[25th March 1574.]

The quhilk day, the said deken [Alexander Patie], with consent of the brethren, chesis and electis dauid myllis, Johnne wakar, Johnne lawsoun [changed from leuingsoun], and Johne lausoun, wpoun ye counsall, dauid scott, dauid ede.

Die 28 martii anno 1574.

The quhilk day the said deken and brethren, all in ane voce, statutis and ordinas that all on fre man that sall happin to cum and ressaue the fredome of the craft of baxtarie craft sall pay, fra this day furth, ten pundis mair for thair fredome, togidder with ane dennar as efferis, prouiding that this act be nawyis hort to ye brether sones or dochteris of the said craft, and that na nouatioun be impute or maid to yam of yair former priuiligeis.

Ita est valterus lausoun notarius publicus Sancti andree in premissis.

Item the said deken and brethren ordinas that alane vilsoun, officer, haif during his office, zeirlie xLs in fie.

Die decimo quinto Julii anno 1575. The quhilk day James broun, elder, his chosen deken for ane zeir and is suorne heirto, quha electis and chosis with consent of craft dauid millis, villiam stephïnson, Thomas stephin, and Johnne walcar, positor.

Die 7 februarii anno 1575.

The quhilk day it is statute and ordinat be ye deken, James broun, and haill craft yairof, that dauid reikart for

diecensioun and tranisgressioun of ye pais[1] to pay viiis at yis present and obleis dauid scot to pay xxs for disobedience and

[1] The weights ordained by the magistrates at which the different kinds of bread were to be sold. It is derived from the French *peser*, to weigh. The weight was set by the magistrates at a sitting or assize, from which the table took the name of the Assize of Bread, and the table was set after a regular trial or Assay. The manner of setting the Assay in the time of Edward I. was made 'after the Feast of Saint Michael in each year, by four discreet men chosen and sworn thereunto; and according to the proportion in weight set by such Assay, the bakers ought to bake throughout the whole of that year. Of which procedure the following is the method;—the four men so sworn as aforesaid are to buy three quarters of corn, one namely upon the Pavement in Chepe, one at Greschirche or at Billyngesgate, and a third at Queen-Hythe; of which corn they are to make wastel, light bread, and brown bread. And after, with great diligence, they shall have baked such loaves, they shall present them, while hot, unto the Mayor and Aldermen, at the Guildhall; and there, while so hot, such loaves shall be weighed. Then shall be reckoned the price at which the corn aforesaid was bought, and there shall be allowed for expenses, as to each quarter, the sum of eightpence; the price also shall be reckoned at which the bran was sold, and shall be subtracted from the purchase price. And if there shall be more loaves in number than there are halfpennies in the purchase price after the expenses have been allowed for, the weight of the loaves forming such surplus shall be distributed among the remaining loaves; and so, every loaf will be of the proper weight. But if the loaves shall be fewer in number than the number of halfpennies in the purchase price after the expenses have been allowed for, then an equal quantity shall be subtracted from the weight of each loaf, until there shall be made up as many loaves of equal weight as there are halfpennies in the purchase price, after the expenses have been so allowed for. Of this procedure the principle is as follows:—at times, however, there is a deficiency, though it is but a trifling one, and such deficiency may be easily ascertained. If the loaves are more in number than the halfpennies, let the excess be taken in the number of such loaves, and its proportion be ascertained relatively to the number of halfpennies, and then, according to such proportion, let the weight of each loaf be increased. For example: suppose that the halfpennies are twenty in number, and the loaves twenty-four—each loaf being forty shillings in weight—then the number of loaves exceeds the number of halfpennies, which is twenty, and by the fifth part thereof, seeing that five times four make twenty. Accordingly, the weight of each loaf will have to be increased by one-fifth of its weight. But the weight of the loaf was forty shillings, of which a fifth part is eight shillings; and therefore, there will be twenty loaves, each of forty-eight shillings. The proof of which is as follows:—twenty-four loaves, each forty shillings in weight, weigh forty-eight pounds; while twenty loaves, each forty-eight shillings in weight, weigh exactly the same; but the [original] number of halfpennies was twenty, so that the number of loaves is now made equal with that of the halfpennies, the weight of them [in the whole] being the same as before. If the halfpennies should be more in number than the loaves, it must be seen what proportion the excess in the number of halfpennies bears to the number of loaves; and if it be one-third, then each loaf will have to be lessened by one-fourth; and if it be one-fourth, each loaf

lik offence, and gif euer ye Said Reikart and dauid scot committis a lik offence to wit to mak ane leif to serue ye bailzies and ane vyer of grit demensioun to ye pure[1] to pay XLS.

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will have to be lessened by one-fifth; and if one-fifth, each loaf will have to be lessened by one-sixth. For example:—Suppose the number of halfpennies is twenty-four, and the number of loaves twenty, then the excess is four, as in the former case, which is one-fifth of twenty; and then every loaf will have to be diminished one-sixth in weight. Accordingly, if the weight of each was forty shillings, it will now be thirty-three shillings and fourpence. The proof of which is as follows:—twenty loaves, each forty shillings in weight, weigh forty pounds; while twenty-four loaves, each thirty-three shillings and fourpence in weight, weigh the same; and so the number of loaves is made equal with the number of halfpennies, the weight of them [in the whole] being the same.'

[1] It was a very general and mild form of punishment to confiscate bread that was made or sold contrary to law for the service of the poor. It dated from an early period, and was continued to a late one. It was naturally most frequently imposed for breaches of the assize. John Penkethman, in his Composer's Preface to Artacthos, relates what he has read relating to the Venetians:—'They take such course, that every moneth it comes to their knowledge, what quantity of Corne their Dominions doe conteine; where certaine discreet and honest men are authorized every Monday to impose a price on the Corne according to the quantity thereof, who thereupon doe declare in writing under their handes in severall publicke places, of what weight the Baker is to make his Bread; so that even the poorest man knoweth what weight he is to have; who in case he shall finde the Baker faulty, may with the assistance of the Constable seise all the Bread extant at the Bakers house, as forfeited, the one halfe to himselfe, and the other to the poore.' In York most of the penalties were pecuniary, which were frequently divided between the trade and the town. In some cases the goods were confiscated to the Mayor and Chamberlain, who were to dispose of them at their discretion, and no doubt the poor of the city were the chief recipients. There is one distinct reference to the distribution of confiscated goods to the poor. The bread so banned was that made into larger loaves than the twopenny, with the exception of sodden bread and rye bread, and any kind whatever at Christmas, when all restrictions as to size were withdrawn. In 1656, the Glasgow Councillors and Magistrates were 'heighlie offendit' at the character of the bread supplied, notwithstanding many warnings, and they condemned the offending parties to pay five pounds each, and ordered the bread to be given to the poor. Their indignation was very great, for they made a law at the same time that anyone so offending in the future would be fined ten pounds, which were to be divided equally between the Trades' and the Merchants' Hospital, and this was in addition to the confiscation of the bread, which no doubt went, as in the instance mentioned, to the poor. By a London Act of the eighth year of the reign of Queen Anne, bread which was deficient in weight, bad in workmanship, or not properly marked, was to be seized, and distributed to the poor of the parish. But these modern instances in Scotland and England want the picturesqueness and ferocity of the older punishments. The ferocity is apparent, the picturesqueness was not observable from the bakers' standpoint. The Town

[17th June 1576.]

The quhilk day, James broun, elder, is becum cautioner and seuertie to ye deken and brethren of ye Said craft, yat gif euer thomas alexander, broyer of ye said James, enteris fre man yat he sall pay xLs to ye craft and thairupoun Johnne walie deken askit act of court.

The quhilk day, dauid myllis is becum cautioner and seuertie to ye said Johnne walie deken and brethren of ye Said craft yat gif euer William myllis enteris fre man to ye said craft yat he sall pay xLs to ye craft.

Counsale James broun, elder, dauid ade, dauid myllis, Johnne walcar, Johnne lausoun, alexander scherp.

Council of Peebles, on 26th February 1463, recorded 'the quhilk day the gude men of the queste statut and ordanit that quhat wyf brak the pass [weight] was gewyn efter the price of quheit be the balyais of ilke miche [each lot] to be tane twa laffis and delt for the fyrst faut; item, for the nest faut of ilke miche to be iiij laffis to be delt for the seconde faut; item, for the thyrde faut of ilk miche wantand of the wecht of the lafe vj laffis to be tane and delt to pur fouk; and quhat seho that is fundying with thir fautis iij sall be clossyt of bakkyng yer and day.' But these penalties were moderate compared with the accumulative punishments inflicted upon similar transgressors in London in the reign of Edward I. 'And if any default shall be found in the bread of a baker of the City, the first time, let him be drawn upon a hurdle from the Guildhall to his own house, through the great streets where there may be most people assembled, and through the great streets that are most dirty, with the faulty loaf hanging from his neck. If a second time he shall he found committing the same offence, let him be drawn from the Guildhall through the great street of Chepe, in manner aforesaid, to the pillory; and let him be put upon the pillory, and remain there at least one hour in the day. And the third [time that such] default shall be found, he shall be drawn, and the oven shall be pulled down, and the baker [made to] forswear the trade within the City for ever.' There is a sweet suggestiveness about the provisions that he should be taken to his own house, through the busy streets, through the dirty streets, with the loaf hanging from his unworthy neck. It would have taken away from the effect if that loaf had been adjudged to the poor. Much more merciful were the conditions of the Ingolstadt bakers in 1544. For the first offence a fine of two shillings was imposed, these were doubled for a second, and, if a third lapse took place, the offender was banished from working at the trade for six months. In each case the bread was distributed amongst the poor—frequently a preference was shown to the poor of the hospital of the town. Confiscated pastry of an unallowed weight was thrown into the Seine by the *patissiers* of Paris. Regraters who sold bread on the streets or exposed it for sale at the doors of the churches, had their bread confiscated and placed at the disposal of the Lieutenant-General of Police.

Die vicesimo Septimo mensis februarii anno 1576.

The quhilk day Johnne Walie, deken of ye baxtaris, and maist pairt yairof being conuenit beside ye cite of Sanctandrous in ye gallowhill yairof, Statute and ordinat yat quhasomeuer takis wpoun hand to Speik without leif,[1] consent, and licence gewin, to pay xxs to ye craft. Act aganis yame quha speakes without leife.

Die nono mensis Junii anno 1577.

The quhilk day James broun is electit deken for ane zeir and is suorne heirto. and chosis of counsall Johnne valie, dauid millis, Johnne valcar, william steuinsoun, thomas ede, alexander scherp, Johnne lausoun. James alexander, officer; Keparis of Keis,[2] Johnne valcar, villiam steuinsoun, dauid myllis, Kepar ye commoun kist kee, Johnne lausoun, positor for ane zeir.

M^ef^ it is statut yat ilk master of baikhous pay ye quarter pament als pai yr iiiis to mr thomas ede, Johnne lausoun, dauid millis.

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[1] At a time when men's hands were ready to follow up their speech it was very needful that good order should be maintained and respect shown to officers. The laws enforcing them were sometimes peculiar. In Rye the man who struck the Mayor was liable to have his hand cut off. Though the bakers had not to submit to such drastic punishments it was necessary that order should be maintained and squabbles avoided. Even in the Kirk Session it was necessary to pass a resolution that no one should speak or whisper without license under the penalty of sixpence for each offence. The Aberdeen bakers' rule on the point was 'that whasomever court beis holden either general or particular within the said convening hous, the court ance being fencit, and whosoever thereafter speikes without leve askit and given sall pay six shillings *toties quoties*, and if he refuse sall be presently poinded therefor. And gif ony be refracter to be defraudit of thair vote or any benefit of court till the same be obeyit.'

[2] It is curious that the records are so late in mentioning the keepers of the keys amongst their officers. The papers, indentures, money, and other valuable assets of the community were kept in iron-fast boxes with several locks. A corresponding number of keys were procured and each was given to a separate custodier, so that the boxes could not be opened unless all the key-holders were present. The rule of the Paris bakers of 1719 is very clear on the plan. The money received by the treasurer was placed in a closed chest with three keys, and the box was kept in the headquarters of the trade. The Dean, the past and the acting treasurer, had each a key, so that nothing could be put in or taken out except in the presence, and by the consent, of all three, who were jointly responsible for the transactions.

Die nono Junii anno 1577 it is decernit yat Johnne walie & george greig pay vs for takin of ane vyer brother calland,[1] becaus yay var convicted be ye haill craft and woted about yairfor notwithstanding vyer actis of before heranent.

[1st November 1577.]

The Quhilk day it is statute and ordinat be ye deken and craft of baxtaris of Sanctandrous yat na pertular brother by quheit or rye at ye Schor quhill thay first aduerteis ye deken yairof vnder ye pane of xls unforgeuin.

Die vicesimo nono mensis mai, 1578.

Item it [is] statute yat na persoun of ane hous by quheit bot onlie deken[2] vnder xls on forgeuin in ye schoir.

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[1] This was a very serious offence in the eyes of the trade. The York regulation reads 'if anye of the sayde occupacion of free Bakers shall entise the apprintice of anye other free baker frome him, or sett anye other apprintice a worke, without lycens of the searchers and agrement of the Maister of the sayd apprentice, vpon dewe profe,—to forefaite iijs iiijd, *toties quoties*.' An early Aberdeen entry was 'that no frieman sall take ane other callants aff off their hand until he give satisfaction for bygone rests.' The Paris gingerbread bakers of 1596 forbad all masters to tempt or take away each others apprentices, and even when the latter left of their free-will, the new employer had to learn from the old why they desired to leave. The Guild of the Bakers of Exeter provided 'that none of the said Crafte slocke ony man-is prentise or yerely seruaunt, of the said crafte, or socoure or maynteyne ony suche, any aprentise, or yerely seruaunt, goyng or brekyng away fro his maisterres convenaunt, vppon payne of xld, as ofte as ony of the said crafte schall hapon to be founde yn suche a defauute.'

[2] Deacon buying. This form of co-operative buying was not uncommon, and it is likely that it was long maintained. The Hammermen had a similar regulation regarding the purchase of coal. In Aberdeen the rule was 'that it sall nowyse be leasome to no freeman hereof to buy any quheat or buy he himselff frae ane extraniar, or any other merchant within this burgh arriving thereat. Bot ye same stuff sall be coft be the Deacon of this craft in name, and to the utilitie of the hail bretheren hereof. And quha contravenes herintill sall pay to the collectour in name of the craft twentie shillings Scots for ilk brak thereof.' The spirit of the resolution, and almost the letter of it, were re-affirmed on 12th February 1691. 'The said day, by pluralitie of voyces, it is statute and ordained that it sall be noways leasome nor lawful to any frieman of the said traid to buy any wheat or rye be himselff from any extraniner or any other merchant within the said burgh arriving thereat, but the same stuff shall be bocht be the deacon of the craft for the tyme in name and to the utilitie of the haill brethren thereof except the deacon refuse, and that under the failzie of twenty shillings Scots for ilk boll that shall be bocht to be paid to the box-

Counsall Johnne valie, dauid millis, Johnne lausoun, alexander scherp, thomas edie, Johnne valcar.

The brethren ordanis to deliuer to george greig xls according to ye actis.

The quhilk day decernit to villiam muffat iii lib. hendre Jamesoun enterit of[ficer.]

Die xiii Junii 1579 Johnne valcar enterit deken.

Counsale—

James broun, elder, dauid myllis, thomas adie, Johnne lausoun, alexander scherp, Johne valcar. Keparis of ye keis of ye box, kynneth greg, Johnne honyman, ye ke of ye kist & vretingis.

[2nd June 1580.]

Counsale—

villiam steuinsoun, Dauid millis, Johne valie, Johne lawsoun, thomas edie, James broun, elder. keparis of keis in kist, arhe leuingstoun, thomas muffat, and James broun zounger of kist (?).

Act that na brother fie ane vthir manis servand

Die xi Junii 1580 it is decernet be Johnne valcar, deken, and haill craft, yat na man conduce or fe ane vyer manis seruand les nor ye seruand cum to dekin and declair ye offence maid to him be his fore maister and fault found yairin vnder ye pane of xls.[1]

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master of the said baxter traid for the tym for his contravention without exemption, and this to stand unalterable in all tyme cuming.' There was not always unanimity regarding these purchases of wheat, as is shown by the terms of the Dundee resolution of 29th January 1626; 'It is ordinit by the suffraigis and votis of ye grytest number of the Craft, that quhen it sall happin anie bargane of victuall, ather quheit or beir, to be offerit to the deacone, except it be ane bargane offerit to ye Collecter and deaconis, that it sall be in the arbitrment of ain of ye Craft to tak ane of it or not intake, yat the deacone agrie vt ye pairtie quha offers the same, and it sal not be lesum to ye deacone to compel ain of ye brethers of ye Craft to resawe onie of ye same.'

[1] Servants. This was a similar provision, as far as the first clause is concerned, to that regarding apprentices. The old London baker was bound not to 'entice the servant of his neighbour from his service, so long as he shall be bound to remain in such service, either for payment of wages or as being bound thereto in good faith; and this, under pain of amercement, unto the use of the Sheriffs, in a sum of forty shillings;' that of York was similar, 'be it ordeyned, that none of the sayd occupacion shall receyue an other man's servant of the same occupacion reteyned within the tyme of his retendre in service, without the

Die 25 maii 1581.

Counsale—

Johnne valcar, Dauid kynneir, alexander scherp, Johnne lausoun, villiam steuinsoun, Johnne valie, Thomas edie.

Die 28 Maii, 1581.

Item it is decernit yat ilk furnesar gadder ye quarteris pamment of ye baikaris yairin and deliuer ye Samyn to ye positor. keparis of keis, Johnne valcar ye box ke, george greig ane ke of kist, Robert thomsoun ane vyer ke.

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licence and agreament of his maister, upon payne of forefaiture of xxs, to be payd and deuided as afforesayd unto the sayd comon Chambre and companye towardes the maintenance of the sayd occupacion, without mittigacion.' The Paris gingerbread bakers of 1596 prohibited any servants to leave their employment until the proper termination of the period for which they had engaged themselves. The reverse of the second clause is found in the London ordinance, if any servant of a baker shall commit an offence against his master, so that he shall presume without leave to forsake the service of such master, we do enact that, under pain of a forfeiture unto the Sheriffs, no baker shall receive or retain such person, until he shall have made full satisfaction unto his master therefor.'

Die decimo quinto mensis octobris 1581.

The quhilk day it is statute and ordinat be ye deken and haill brethren of craft, all in ane voce, That dauid thomsoun[1] and alexander rusle be secludit fra seruice for ane quarter of ane zeir and quha giffis thame seruice to pay xLs as unlay, and quha usurpis or tak in hand to bak in eny bakehous to eny fre man to be banest all bakhous perpetualie.

Die Tertio mensis aprilis 1582.

The Quhilk day it is decernit be deken and counsall that quha sendis braid thro[t] ye toun to pay xs according to ane former act maid of before.[2]

Item it is decernit yat na brother ressaue nor by ony quheit in ye mercat les nor all ye quheit be In ane saik, be of

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[1] The reference to the mill and to John Sharp suggests the connection between Thomson and the following entry:—'The quhilk day Elizabeth Zoung confessit and granted hir to be wyth chylde to Jhone Scharpe. The said Jhone present in assemblie confessit he had daill wyth hir, and nocht the les allegit the bairne wes Dauid Thomsonis, quha had carnall daill wyth hir, thre or foure dayis befoir the tyme that he lay wyth hir in the myln. The session ordenit the said Jhone Scharpe to compeir, to declair in his conscience at quhat tyme he had to do wyth the said Elizabeth Zoung.'

[2] This is the first direct reference to any existing laws and warrants the assumption that an earlier minute-book was in existence when this was written. The law thus ratified was repeatedly confirmed and was only abolished in 1706. The extension of businesses was not encouraged in those days, and the hawking of bread and consequent interference with the customers of others were severely condemned. Tradesmen prohibited hawking, and the Merchant Guilds scorned it equally. Their statutes in Denmark, Germany, and Belgium provided that no one 'with dirty hands,' or 'with blue nails,' or 'who hawked his wares in the street,' should become a member of the guilds. In 1566 the York bakers decreed 'if any of the sayd crafte of free Bakers shall go hawking with ther Bread, either in the citty or suburbs,—to forefaite therefore xxd;' and in 1595, 'That all suche bread as hereafter shall be found carryed about in hawking or otherwise (except to the market cross on the dayes mentioned to be sould, or to a customer which haith it by tayle and spoken for) and also that all suche bread so caryed towardes the Market or to anye customer as shalbe sould by the waye, or as shalbe caryed to anye Inholder, Tipler, Huxter or Victallers house to be sould, (except before excepted) shalbe forfaited and disposed at the discrecion of the Lord Maior; and the partye offendinge shall also forefaite and paye for the same defalt or offence iijs. iiijd. at euerye tyme so offendinge, to be deuided as afforesayd.' In 1735 the bakers of Eisenach were prohibited from taking or sending bretzels, zwieback or any other baked articles round the houses of the town.

ane quheit, and of lik deues. and yat ye byar tak na compositiounis[1] quhilk gif yai do to pay xs to ye craft and ye sellar incur ye danger of ye bailzies.

[The next entry is almost illegible—faded and worn.]

Die xxii maii anno 1582. It is statute and ordanit yat na brother sell braid thro[t] ye town bot confest (?) of commoun priss and all braid be vend on ane priss accordinglie vnder ye pane of x schillingis to be pait be ye vender (?) . . . . .

Die 28 maii anno 1582.

Counsall—Dauid millis Johnne valcar, villiam steuinsoun, Thomas ede, alexander schirp, Johnne lausoun, James broun elder.

Die xxvi [to] maii Anno Domini Jajv[e] Octuagesimo.

The samyn day It is statute and ordanit be ye said Deakin and haill breithren of ye baxteris in St androus, That na brother of ye craft nor service man sall sett vp ony meat or put owt ony bannokis in yair howss, bot onlie to come to ye baikhous, vndir ye paine of xls, and that becaus the service men pleingzeis[2] that yai gett na proffeit of ony meat that is sett vp in ony brotheris hous.

Act anent vid braid for vd

It is statute and ordanit vithe the haill breithrein of our craft that na baxter that is ane frie man within yis toun tak vpon hand to baike ony sex pennye braid and sell yame for fywe penneyis within the toun, to pay to ye box or at ye

[1] This was intended to prevent the mixing of grains and to maintain the quality. A Burgh law of Dundee, 1st October 1582, ordained 'for avoyding of the gred defraud vsit be the bringers of victuall to this mercat havand good and sufficient victuall in the mouthes of ther secks and worse in ye middes and bottom That na person pretend to do the like in tyme coming vnder the pain of escheating of the sd victuall.' A similar purpose was intended and more curiously expressed in a decision of the Peebles Town Council of 25th October 1570, 'The haill inqueist ordanis all meill to be presentit to the mercat croce, and nane remane in houssis, and that nane be sauld quhill tua efter novne, nor nane be sauld efter sax houris, vnder the pane of deling of the samin, and that ilk meill sell to the poor of ilk laid ij pekkis meill, and that it be als gud in the ers of the seke as in the mouth vnder the pane foirsaid.'

[2] Complain.

deakines and counsellis sy^{t}, fourtye shillyngis for ye feist, and gif he be fund yaireftir to pay ten libis or ellis to be deprywit.

Die vigesimo quarto mensis aprilis anno domini millesimo quingentesimo octuagesimo terto.

Act anent ye ressaving and admitting of prenteisis

The quhilk day Jhone wylie, dakin, and ye haill brethe-rein of ye baxter craft of yis citee of St androus, being togidder convenit vpon ye gallow hill hes all, with ane voce, concludit, Statut, and ordanit, That fra this tyme furth thair salbe na prenteis ressauit nor admittit to ye baxter craft with na fre baxter of yis citee bot[1] with ye advis and consent of ye dakin and his counsall, and being sua ressauit salbe bund for fyve zeiris prenteis and ane zeir nixt yaireftir for his meat and fie, and quhen evir ony prenteis beis ressauit and admittit to ye libertie and fredome of ye craft he sall pay, befoir he be ressauit, twenty four lib money of yis realme to ye dakin, counsall, and commoun burs,[2] and vtilite of ye craft and yis to Stand as ane perpetuall law and act without alteratioun in all tymes cuming. Jhonn Wylle delkin.

Anent ye onklie penny of all Seruice men

Die sexto mensis Junii anno LXXXIII^{o}. The quhilk day it is Statut, devysit, and ordanit for perpetuall weill of ye craft, That every seruice man within ilk baikhous of yis citee sall pay onklie ane penny to ye positour of ye craft to be put in ye commoun box, and yat ilk furnisar of all baikhouss be haldin to mak Just compt, rekning, and pament to ye dakin and bretherein of ye craft anis in ye zeir of yir Seruice men, and yis is ordanit with ye consent of ye dakin and haill bretherein of ye craft conuenit yairto for ye tyme.

Anent ye conuening of all brethering quarterlie with yair quarter pament

The samyn day It is Statut, diuisit, and ordanit, with consent of ye dakin and bretherein foirsaid, yat every freman baxter within yis citee sall cum vpoun ye morn efter ilk quarter be rwn fur^{t} to ye parroche kirk[3] of yis citee and bring

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[1] Unless, except.

[2] Purse.

[3] The Parish or Town Kirk was built in 1412, and until the passing of the old order, had been closely associated with the trade, who maintained an altar in it. The door and the aisle were often used as the meeting places of the

yair with yame yair quarter pament & deliuer ye samin to ye positour and quha failzeis heirin sall pay twa schillings to ye commoun box on for gevin.

[N.B.—The following fills up a space that had been left blank; the writing is an Eighteenth-Century hand.]

Thie which Deay petar Duncanson was alickted Deackyn of thie biker trd [baxter tread] of St Andreus for the in shoung year and was presand Exeptad thereof and to Doe the foling as use is. Rot Kirk (?)

Accompt of the Number of Beaxter in the Beaxtr tread in the year 1758.

1 Convener John Duncanson & Thomas Duncanson presan Deacken of the fore saied Baxter tread, Deckn patrson, Deackn David tod, Robrt Wallkr, Thos honyman, peaull Duncanson,

1 Thos. Duncanson, Dackn
2 Convener Duncanson
3 Conveener Gib, presant Convener
4 Dauid Tod
5 Andrew peatrson
6 Robert Walkar
7 Thomas honyman
8 Alexr. patrson
9 Paull Duncanson

the Abou Being the Number of the tread alive this in St Andreus 10 Febr. 1758 at this deay

Die xv septembris 1583.

The quhilk day it is decernit be ye said deakin and haill craft yat quha[t] breyar baikis vpoun ane sounday saill braid

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trade. The Council House was situated in the Church and the trades sometimes met in it. It was probably here that the money was to be paid. The church is notable as the scene of Knox's first public sermon. Some of the bakers who went there to pay their quarterages in the later days, had seen him assisted into the pulpit, which, old and spent as he was, he was like to 'ding to blads and fly out of.' Robert Pont was the minister at this date, and in 1662, Andrew Honeyman, the baker's son, was appointed First Minister, as an Episcopalian, where he had been Second Minister, as a Presbyterian, since 1642. His brother Robert was Second Minister (Episcopalian) from 1681 to 1686. The trade had a seat in the Kirk, and the connection was kept up till almost the wind-up of the Incorporation.

to pay xLs on forgene[1]. Item it is decernit yat Thomas hendersoun prenteis to dauid kynneir[2]

[1] On 15th June 1576 a similar act had been passed, the penalty attached to the infringement being the smaller one of eight shillings, which were to be given to the poor. On this the fine appears to be reserved for the coffers of the craft. This is the last reference in the minutes to the preservation of the Sabbath, though one would have thought that there would have been many at this time, and for a century afterwards. No doubt some would be incorporated in the records of the Guild, the Town Council, and the Kirk Session. In the last of these, 1st January 1588, there occurs, 'the quhilk day, James Smyth, Dane of Gild, Dauid Kynneir, deacone of the baxteris, [then follow the other deacons] being desyrit in the name of God, according to Goddis command, to tak ordour, ilk deacone with his awin craft and the Dane of Gild with the gild brether, that the holy Sabboith day of the Lord may be kepit holy, and the sermonis at all tymes may be frequentit be the pepill, that God may be glorifiit and sklander removit fra this congregatioun. The said Dane of Gild and haill deaconis foirsaidis hes promist to convein ilk ane thair awin craftis, and the Dane of Gild the gild brether, and tak gude ordour in the premissis; and to report ansuer of the samyn to the sessioun this day aucht dayis.' Kinnear may have kept his promise, but if the meeting was convened no entry regarding it was made in the trade's book, and no report appears to have been made to the Kirk Session. On 26th October 1597, the Kirk Session ordained 'that in all tymes cuming na baxter nor tavernour hald furth juigis of wyne aill nor bread on the Sabboth, under pane of ten s. for ilk falt, and of publict humiliatioun.' The bakers took no notice of this decree in their gatherings. On 12th April 1598, the Session again returned to the repression of Sunday trading, and decreed 'the baxteris of this citie ar dischargeit be the sessioun, with advyse of the magistratis, fra all furth putting of caseris, for selling of thair bread, at ony tyme upon the Saboth day; and that thair buith durris be nocht oppynnit the said day at any tyme, except betuix the preichingis, and fra fyve houris eftir nune furth.' It is curious to find a technical term like 'caseris' appearing in the Register of the Kirk Session and not in the trade's manuscript. There are also several instances of bakers being censured for breaking the Sabbath, but the trade records are silent regarding them. In York, in 1581, bakers were debarred from making bread to be sold on Sundays, unless under a special commandment in times of great necessity. From the citation from the Kirk Session Register it will be seen that bakers were allowed to keep open booths on Sunday, but they had to shut them during the time of public worship. The same is shown by an act of Dundee Town Council, of 2nd October 1559, 'that na Taverner brouster nor Baxter shall open ther buithes nor sell bread wyne nor aill during the tyme of the preaching vpon the Sunday.' The selling of bread was permitted, but the baking was prohibited. Several St. Andrews bakers were brought before the Kirk Session for occupying their bakehouses on Sundays, and the reason no doubt was pretty much the same in St. Andrews as in Dundee, where an Act of the Town Council in 1597 discloses a peculiar state of matters: 'becaus ane great number of the inhabitants of this brugh are within drawin fra the hearing and exercise of the word of God vpon the sabboth day be the oversight qhilk the masters and owners of backhousses hes recivit thir zears bypast in ye saids backhousses vpon the sabboth day

cunssel—Dawid myllis, Jamis broun, elder, Jhonn Walker, Jhonn lawsoun, allcessainder serp, thomis edde.

Act annent ye Ressaitt of baikeris on satisfeing yame with quhom yai bewk before

Vpoun ye Tuentie nyne day of Januar Jai vc four scoir and three zeiris The quhilk day, it is decernit be ye dackin and counsall of ye baxteris of St androus, Johnne valie being dackin yairof at yis present, That na freman or broyer of craft or furnesar ressaif ony fremen in yair baikhous for handling or virking of ony aitt braid,[1] quheit braid, or bakin melt, or

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to the offence of God and sklander of the Kirk It is therfor statut and ordanit that na master nor owner of the saids backhousses suffer the samin to be occupyit vpon the said saboth day heerafter vnder the pain of ten lib to the vse of the poor for the first fault And for the second fault xx lib And making of publick repentance in the Kirk.' As has been indicated the above is the last entry in the St. Andrews books regarding Sunday baking, but it is surprising to find that it lasted in Scotland to a comparatively late day. Even down to the year of the Union the trade elsewhere found it necessary to legislate upon the point. The Dundee trade on 10th July 1707 passed a very comprehensive and expressive deliverance on it, which is worth giving in full. 'Taking to their serious consideratione how hainous a sin the breach of the Sabbath is, as being contrary to the law of God appoynting the samen day to be separate and sett apart for his worship and service, and all worldly labour and employment to be refrained from. And that notwithstanding thereof, and of the many laudable laws and constitutiones of this natione and burgh made for the observance of the Sabbath day. Severall persones, Baxters within this burgh, Have of late taken upon them, and continue still to breake the Lord's day by bakeing of bread, and carrying the same through the towne on Sabbath morning, and after twelve of the cloake on Saturdays night, to the great scandall of relligione. Therfor and for remeid thereof, The Deacon and remanent members of the said Trade with concourse, advice, and concurrance of James Stewart, prest Deacon-convener of the Crafts of the said burgh, Unanimously statute and ordaine That at no time herafter any Baxter within this burgh, presume to put any bread of qtsoever sort or size within their ovens after ten of the clocke at night on Saturday night. To the effect the same may be timeously baken, and either caried home or left in the bakehouse, And the oven stoppen, and the bakehouse door closed in befor eleven of the cloak at night, With certificatione that each persone contravening of this prest act shall be lyable in fourtie shilling Scots, *toties quoties*, to be payed to the Deacon or his boxmaster for the use of the Trade, And the master of the bakehouse or his foreman or deput foreman to be lyable for the fyn, To be payed how soon the samen shall be demanded.'

[2] The remainder has faded in great part, and the latter portion has been cut off—probably by the binder.

[1] According to this entry oat bread was allowed to be made, but on 20th October 1595, it was prohibited, and only wheat and rye bread allowed. In 1608 unmixed oat bread was allowed, but in 1660 it was again forbidden.

rye braid, quhill thai haif satisfeit ye annaris[1] of ye baikhous quharin thay buik of befoir vndir ye pane of xls vnforgene.

Jhonn Wyllie with my hand.

Act aganis Dauid Duncan & vyer service men

Die decimo octauo mensis martii 1583. The quhilk day, forsamkle as yair vas ane bill of complaint gevin in before Jhonne valie, dackin of ye baxteris of Sanctandrous, and counsall yairof, be villiame balfour, baxter, aganis dauid duncane, alleageand yat ye said villiame suld haif callit ye haill seruandis of James broun baikhous comoun theiffis, and als ane vyer bill of complaint, gevin in be henrie Jamesoun and ye rest of ye seruandis of ye said James broun bakhous, alleageand also yat ye said dauid duncane callit yame comoun theiffis. The quhilkis billis being consideritane* cleirlie proven by famous vitnes and also confessit be ye said dauid him self contemptuouslie. The saidis dakin and haill counsall all in ane voce, decernit and decretit yat if ewir ye said dauid or ony vyer seruand dois ye lik offence in ony tyme to cum yat he suld pay to ye craft of ye baxteris of Sanctandrous ten merkis.

* and

Item it is statut and ordinat yat na brothir ressaif ony seruand fra ony vyer brotheris baikhous les yai first cum To ye dackin and schaw ye falte yairfore vnder ye pane of xls vnforgene.

Item it is statut & ordinat yat na freman and specialie vantage men To baik nane of yair braid callit braid nekit or snekit lewes[2] vndir ye pane of xls.

[13th September 1584.]

Counsall

Jhonne valcar	Thomas edie
Dauid myllis	dauid kynneir
alexander schairpe	archebald lewingstoun

It is statute and ordinat [so in the MS.]

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[1] This appears to have been the annual subscription to the craft, which was to be lifted weekly or quarterly by the furnacer of each bakehouse.

[2] This is the only occasion on which this kind of bread is mentioned, nor have I met with any mention of it elsewhere. It probably refers to the introduction of a new shape which did not meet with the favour of the conservative members of the trade. Braid meant twisted or plaited and sneck meant a cut; either meaning would give the representation of a fancy-shaped loaf.

It is statute yat quhosoewer of ye said counsall absentis yame self yai being vairnit to pay viiis.[1]

[18th June 1584.]

Act anent ye giffing dewche or meill to ye service men.

Item it is statut and ordinat be Jhonne valie of ye baxteris of Sanctandrous, and haill bretheren yairof being conuenit and gadderit at ye gallohill, besyde ye said citie, as ane parte appointit To yame To conuene yairto as vse & vonit hes bene past meand of man. That na service man of yat craft sall haiff ony dauch or maill for yair service,[2] becaus It is hurtful To ye freemen of ye craft, Bot onlie siluer for yair service. And quhat broyer giffis to ony service man ony

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[1] Fines for lateness or non-attendance at meetings were very common everywhere, and are still maintained in a few bakers' associations.

[2] This is an early form of the Truck Act, but it was conceived in the interest of the employers, not of the workers, no wheat dough, mystem dough, or flour were to be included in the wages. This far-seeing resolve of the St. Andrews bakers is almost unique in trade regulations. It found a counterpart, however, in Aberdeen, in a rule which prevented masters giving flour to their servants for their services under the fine of six shillings. Jamieson does not give mystem or mistem, but he gives meslin and maslin as mixed corn, and there can be no doubt that what was meant was dough made from mixed grains. Wheaten dough was not to be given, nor was dough made from any mixture of wheat and rye, or rye and barley, or any other mixture. Mashlock was a coarse loaf made from mixed grains. In William Harrison's *A Description of England* 1577, *miscelin bread* is described in the following paragraph: 'The next sort is named brown bread, of the colour of which we have two sorts, one baked up as it cometh from the mill, so that neither the bran nor the flour are in any whit diminished; this, Celsus called *autopirus panis*, lib. 2, and putteth it in the second place of nourishment. The other hath little or no flour left therein at all, howbeit he calleth it *Panem Cibarium*, and it is not only the worst and weakest of all the other sorts, but also appointed in old time for servants, slaves, and the inferior kind of people to feed upon. Hereunto likewise, because it is dry and brickle in the working (for it will hardly be made up handsomely into loaves), some add a portion of rye meal in our time, whereby the rough dryness or dry roughness thereof is somewhat qualified, and then it is named *miscelin*, that is, bread made of mingled corn, albeit that divers do sow or mingle wheat and rye of set purpose at the mill, or before it come there, and sell the same at the markets under the aforesaid name.'

> But alleonely of wete,
> The mastlyone shul men lete.
>
> MS. Harl 1701.
>
> I say nor cow, nor wheate, nor mastlyn,
> For cow is sorry for her castlyn.
>
> Men Miracles, 1656.

quhyt dewche, mystew dewche, or ony dewche that is veyit or meill for yair service bot silver onlie[1] to pay xls.

Item it is statut and ordinat yat ye seruice men being ane boattar haiff xiid and ye freeman of ye baikhous xd and ye sheitt man vid and ilk vattir boy iid.

Item it is statut and ordinat yat na seruice man sall grind ony quheit To sell flour in gryt or small, or sett vp ony mett ather in burt of land with ony fluir except it be brocht fra ane fre baxtar.

Item It is statut & ordinat yat na seruice man sall baik ony menschoittis[2] except onlie ye fluir be bocht fra ane freman.

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[1] In Dundee in 1619, servants were allowed 'ane aucht pennie loaf of ilk beackine sall be beackine therein for the space of the said zeir of his service, and lykvayis the said deacone, wt advys forsd, hes ordanit thatt if any Mr within the sd Craft giwe any mor service nor the said aucht pennie laif induringe the zeir forsds sall be in the deconis will therfor.'

[2] Menschoittis or manchets. According to Harrison *(A Description of England)* manchet bread was the finest quality of wheat bread. His description of English bread is very interesting for the sake of the comparison it offers with the bread mentioned in these records at practically the same period. The description is confined to the staff of life, the ordinary food of the country, in its degrees of fineness, and does not concern itself with the fancy loaves or cakes that were made for festive or other special occasions. 'Of bread made of wheat we have sundry sorts daily brought to the table, whereof the first and most excellent is the manchet, which we commonly call white bread, in Latin *primarius panis*, whereof Budens also speaketh, in his first book *De asse;* and our good workmen deliver commonly such proportion that of the flour of one bushel with another they make forty cast of manchet, of which every loaf weigheth eight ounces into the oven, and six ounces out, as I have been informed. The second is the cheat or wheaten bread, so named because the colour thereof resembleth the grey or yellowish wheat, being clean and well-dressed, and out of this is the coarsest of the bran (usually called gurgeons or pollard) taken. The ravelled is a kind of cheap bread also, but it retaineth more of the gross, and less of the pure substance of the wheat; and this, being more slightly wrought up, is used in the halls of the nobility and gentry only, whereas the other either is or should be baked in cities and good towns of an appointed size (according to such price as the corn doth bear), and by a statute provided by King John in that behalf. The ravelled cheat therefore is generally so made that out of one bushel of meal, after two and twenty pounds of bran be sifted and taken from it (whereunto they add the gurgeons that rise from the manchet) they make thirty cast, every loaf weighing eighteen ounces into the oven, and sixteen ounces out; and beside this, they so handle the matter that to every bushel of meal they add only two and twenty, or three and twenty, pound of water, washing also (in some houses) their corn before it go to the mill, whereby their manchet bread is more excellent in colour, and

It is statut and ordinat yat na baxter nor seruice man tak vpoun hand To sit vp ony meit or baik ony vaiscallis,

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pleasing to the eye, than otherwise it would be.' There are wonderfully few Scottish references to manchets, but the notice of it here (and elsewhere) shows that it was a recognised loaf, and the assize of bread in Glasgow so late as 14th October 1637 provided the prices for 'the wheat loaf' of 10 oz. 1s; the 'doubill bund' of 18 oz. 2s; the 'mayn shott' of 9 oz. 1s. It was also called main or mayne bread, as in *The History of Sir Gray Steel*,

'Baked fowles she brought again,
Spice and wine, bread of main.'

Jamieson gives mane bread as very light and savoury white bread, and fantastically derives it from the Teutonic maene, a cake of fine flour shaped like a half moon; or from the French, *pain d'amand*, almond biscuit. The shape had nothing to do with the quality and the introduction of almonds is very far-fetched. It was known as *panis dominicus* or bread for the table of the wealthy. This term, however, was applied at one time, and probably originally, to simnels, or bread made from the finest flour, which had stamped upon the loaves or cakes the figure of Christ. York bakers were forbidden to bake any manner of bread or 'Manchett Caikes' on Sundays, unless under special dispensation in times of great need for baptism, funerals, banquets, and similar occasions. Mayne bread enjoyed a particular reputation in York, where it was looked upon as a speciality. In 1595 bakers were allowed to make and sell 'Mayne Bread, Simnell bread, Wastell, whit, wheaten, boulted, houshold, and horse breades (leuen cakes in Lent except) and none other kindes of bread.' It will be observed that main bread occupies the post of honour in the list. Sometime before this the following quaint regulation, with its peculiar subsidy of a particular bread, was passed: 'Wheras the bakinge of maine bread in this Cittye is of late almost left of, or cleane given ouer, which is thought to be by reason that spyced cakes are of late growne into greater vse than heretofore haith bene, which Mayne Breade (as it is reported) is not in use nor baked in anye other Cittie or place forthe of this cittye in England, and haith bene vsed in this Cittye tyme out of mynde of man, and is one of the auncientest matters of noveltye to present men of honor and others reparinge to this cittye withall that cann be hadd heare, it is therfore thought meet and convenient, that the same shalbe still continewed and kept in vse and not to be suffered to decaye nor to be layde downe. Whervpon it is nowe agreed by theis presentes, that the mayne bakers of this Cittye shall emongest them bake euerye Frydaye morninge from henceforthe tenn shillings worthe of Mayne Bread at the least, good and fyne stuffe suche as hathe bene accustomed, to be sould to suche as will buye the same, vpon payne of vj^{s} viij^{d} for euerye default. And it is further ordred that if it do not sell before fyve of the clocke in the after none of the same daye, that then the same mayne bakers shall send to the Lord Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffes and xxiiij, at fyve of the clock in the after none of the same day, (viz) to the Lord Maior and Aldermen euerye of them foure pennye worthe, and to the Sheriffes and xxiiij euerye of them two pennye worthe, of suche parte therof as shall at that houre be vnsould, who shall take and paye for the same. And that the searchers of the bakers shall be chardged to se this order performed on the behalfe of the sayd bakers, to make presentment of the defaultes of the sayd Bakers therein, thone halfe of all which fynes

bunis, caikis, or fagis,[1] To ony nytbur sic as byis quheit in gryns & grindis sic as vynsellaris & aill sellaris[2] and velthie mer-

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shalbe to the common Chamber and thother to the Company of Bakers.' In 1552, the burden of making weekly mayn bread, according to the ancient custom of the city, was put upon the trade and the whole members were liable to a fine of three shillings and fourpence if they failed to do so. In *The Boke of Curtasye* we read of the manchet under De Pistore,

Of tho baker now speke y wylle,
And wat longes his office vntylle;
Of a lunded buschelle he shalle bake
xx louys, I vndur-take ;
Manchet and chet to make brom bred hard,
For chaundeler and grehoundes and huntes reward.

In the same poem a 'chet' loaf is mentioned as being intended for the alms-dish. In the *Household Stuff occupied at the Lord Mayor's Feast, a.d. 1505*, were 'viij quarters of chet brede/ In manchettis vijs In trenchar brede viiijs/ In ob (halfpenny) brede iiij.'

[1] Jamieson gives this as fadge or fage, a large flat loaf or bannock, and in the Lothians, a flat wheaten loaf. He suggests its derivation from Fr. *fouace*, a thick cake. Michel follows the same derivation, and adds the further explanation that it was commonly made of barley-meal. In Yorkshire, fadge was applied to anyone who was short and fat in appearance. The Edinburgh Town Council enacted a quaint resolution on 15th December 1529, 'that the lang fage of quheit breid sauld be vnfriemen on the merket dais be guid and sufficient stuf, weill bakin and dryit, and at thai keip the wecht and pais of the ijd. laif and iiij penny laif of quheit breid of the wecht of Leith; and als ordanis that the fowattis of Mussilburgh and vtheris sauld be vnfremen apone the merket dayis be weill bakin and dryit gude and sufficient stuf, and at thai keip the pais of the ijd laif and iiijd laif of quheit breid of the wecht of Leith, vnder the pane of eschaet of the samyne; and at na hukstar sell nor tap ony of the saidis fagis nor fowattis within thar housis in tyme to cum, vnder the said payne; and als ordanis that quhat persone that baikis ony aitt laiffis that thai be gude stuff and fresche, and at the penny laif tharof wey the penny laif wecht and thrid part wecht of quheit breid, vnder the said pane; and at the dekin and masteris of the baxtaris tak Thome Arnot, officiar, or ony vther officiar thai pleise with thaim dalie quhane thai lyk to put this act till execu-tione.' Jamieson gives fouat as a Roxburghshire expression, meaning a cake baked with butter and currants, something like the Scottish bun, but this must be a much more modern meaning than the above extract indicates. The Musselburgh fowattis appears to indicate a degradation of *fouace*. Readers of *The Farmer's Ingle* (there ought to be many more!) will remember

Round him will badrins and the colly come,
To wag their tail, and cast a thankfu' eie,
To him wha kindly flings them mony a crum
O' kebbock whang'd, and dainty fadge to prie;
This a' the boon they crave, and a' the fee.

[2] There are several attempts to regulate the trade with wine-sellers, ale-sellers, victuallers, etc. From one entry it would appear that a number of the bakers carried on business as alesellers or tavern-keepers, and there is frequently

chandis To ye grit hurt of our said craft vndir ye pane of xls To be payit To ye vtilite of ye craft, on forgene. And now it is statute of new be ye saidis deakin and haill breithren that quhatsumewir brother braikis or contravenis yis present act to pay foure pundis money on forgiffin.

Item it is statut and ordinat yat na freman of ye said craft by ony quheit To nyᵗburis in yis cetie except in seid tyme and specialie yat na freman by ony quheit To ony outland man [of ye] coistsyd or ony vyer partis & ye byar To pay xls vn forgene.[1]

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an apparent connection in other acts in different towns between the trades. But as a rule the relations were inimical. In 1581 the York bakers were debarred from baking or boulting in an innkeeper's house, and it was further provided that 'no inkeper, harborer, nor hostler within this cittye or suburbs of the same make or bake anye manner of bread in ther howses (ryebreade for ther families excepted) but that they buy ther bread for to sell to ther gwests, and for ther geste horses, of the common bakers of this cittye, so that every loofe of bread be marked with the marke of the baker of whom the saym bread was bought, to thend and intent that everye person maye knowe that the bread is of the right assise, of such value as it ought to be, whereby the inkepers, harborers, and ostelers maye advouche the sale of their bread by the marke of the baker. And if anye inkeper, harborers, or hosteler have anie bread found in ther howses in anye other manner than the manner aforesayd, that they and everye of them shall forfait for everye offens xls to be payd an deuided as is aforesayd.' The same rule was enforced in London, where, in Elizabeth's time, the bakers did a trade in making bread for horses, which they had to deliver to innkeepers and victuallers three loaves for a penny, and thirteen pennyworth for every twelvepence, and each of the three penny loaves was to weigh the weight of a full penny wheat loaf, independent of the price and qualty of wheat. In a memorial presented by the Trades of Dundee to the Town Council in 1676, one of the requests was that no vintners nor any one else, except bakers, should sell bread. Prior to that date, in October 1643, the Dundee Trade had passed a rule somewhat like the above: 'in beakinge of bunnes, sewells, oat lowes, kaikes, and bappes to the tawernis and brewers of the said burt, vho mak thar owne benefeis theirby in sellinge of them to strangers at feastes and mariages to the gryt hinderance of the saids baxteris their owine change. Item it is statut and ordaned be ane wnanimus consent that heirefter nonn qtsower sall beack to the forsds tavernis or brewers any of the forsds kynds of breids, wnder the paine of twentie schillingis for the first fault, and fourtie schillingis for the secund fault, and for the thrie fault suspensione from beakinge duringe the pleasre of the said Craft.' In France the searchers of the bakers were entitled to visit hotelkeepers and wine sellers in order to see that the bread they sold was of good weight and quality.

[1] The restriction of wheat-buying in very similar terms to the above was repeated on 16th August 1592. In view of the necessity for maintaining the

[1586.]

The conssel of yis zer

Dawid myllis	Jhonn lewstoun
erche lewestoun	georgis greg
allexssander serp	Dawid kenner

The twenty ferd day off maii, The zeir of god, Jaj v^{c} fourescore and Sewin zeiris.

The quhilk day, Jhonne Aytoun, zounger, son law^{t}ffull to Jhonne aytoun, eldar, cietiner of St androus, Is becum bund prenteis to Williame Balfour, baxter, and feilzeing of him to beatrix brown, his spows, duryng hir videwitie, and yaireftir to Androw balfour, thair son, for the space of sewin zeiris moe eftir his entres quhill ye day and date heirof, conforme to the ordour of baxter craft.

[9th September, 1587.]

Nomina Consilii

Jhonne vylie	Jhonne hwneman
Dauid myllis	Archbald Levingstoun
Jhonne Lawsoun	Alexander Scharpe

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trading in the market the reason is obvious. Buying wheat from strangers was universally prohibited: 'Na nychtbour within the toone by meill to ony land-wart man that is ane cowpare of meill vnder the pane of viijs vnforgeving' [Peebles Council Records, 5th December 1571]. 'It is statut and ordanit, with consent of the haill baxteris, beand convenit, that nane of thame pass in the contray to by quhit of darrer prices bot as tha ma keip and obserf the statut and by ordinance gewin thame be the counsale for this present yeir; and alse that nane of the saidis baxsteris by quhit attour his nychtbouris heyd: that is to say, where his nychtbour hes bene to mak ony bying or bergane of quhyt, and bidden ony money thairfor, that his nychtbour bid na mair nor is offerit, nor mak him to by thair, wnder the pane of fourty s. for the first falt, and tynsell of fredome for yeir and day for the secund falt, gif he beis convickit for the same.' [Aberdeen Council Register, 4th October 1555.] There is one duly recognised exception to these methods of buying wheat only in the market; it is that of the bakers of Mans. There the bakers went into the country to buy wheat from the peasants, from whom they bought cheaper and from whom they received better measure. Each twenty-first filling of the measure was given free, an application to them as purchasers of the principle of their own 'dozen' as sellers.

The twelf day of September The zeir of god, Jaj vc fourescore sewin zeiris

The Generall Rentall off the anvellis[1] addictit to the baxter craft.

In the fyrst be James Robertsoun——————xxs.
Item be thomas Symsoun zerlie——————xxs.
Item furthe of vmquhile[2] alexander patyis land——xxvis viii.
Item of Thomas Reikyis tenement——————xs.
Item be Robert mwrray——————xvis.
Item of Jhonne blakis land besout the towinthe——————vs.
Item of megis dawsoun zeirlie——————vs.
Item of Jhonne Lawsonis tenement zeirlie——————vi lib.
Item of dauid myllis baikhous and his collegis[3]——————vis.
Item of mr petir watsonis land in the college vynd[4] zeirlie—viiis.
Summa annuatim——————xi lib xvs viiid.

The quhilk day, dauid kynneir, deakin of the baxter craft, grantit him to haife ressavit fra Jhonne vylie, last deakin of the said craft, The new and awld pensalis,[5] Togidder with the haill evidentis concernyng the said craft extending to xxxv peices in parchemin and paprie in the boxe with the key quharof the said Jhonne hes presentlie In keiping. And the keiparis of the keyis of the letle boxe ar Alexander Scharpe and george greig for this zeir.

[14th September 1588.]

The Names of ye counsaile

Jhonne Wylie	Dauid myllis
George greig	archbald levingstoun
Alexander scharpe	Johnne Hwneman
Jhonne lawsoun	

[1] Feu-duties.
[2] The late or deceased.
[3] Colleagues.
[4] Now College Street.
[5] Pinsel, penseil, a small flag or banner borne in battle. Francisque Michel in *The Scottish Language as illustrating Civilisation in Scotland*, derives it from O.F. *penoncel*, *pannoncel*, a flag; Fr. *panonceau*, *pennon*,

Vpon the twelf day of october, The zeir of god,
Jaj v^c^ Lxxxviii zeiris.

The quhilk day, In presens of Dauid kynneir, deakin of ye baxters of S^t^ androus, his counsaile, and haill remanent breithren of ye said craft, Alexander Scharpe fay^t^fullie promisses and obliss him that no^t^withstandyng Jhonne scharpe, his brother son, is inbewkit as prenteis to him that he sall no^t^ becum nor admittit prenteis[1] to him vnto ye tyme the haill body of ye craft knaw it and sall renew and reforme his indentouris yairwpon. Obligatio Scharpe

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pannon; It. *pennone;* Lat. *penna.* In the order for the funeral of Archbishop Sharp there was 'the great mourning pencil borne by Sir John Strachan.' In *The History of Sir Gray Steel*, it almost appears to have been a piece of armour:—

'He drew a sword, a worthie weapon,
The first dint on me could happen ;
For through the ventil and pensil he share,
Into my shoulder five inch and mair.'

Gavin Douglas, in the *Thrid Buik of Eneados* (Cap. vi.), sings

'for the south wyndis blast
Our piggeis and our pinsalis wavit fast.'

It is a pity that no representation of the banner has survived. Each craft had its own distinctive emblems and legends. The Aberdeen Council decreed in 1496, that for the honour and defence of the town every craft within the burgh should get a standard made, and in 1611, at a 'wappinschaw' on the links, 'the craftismen pinsellis, quhilk war fourtene in number, are placeit in ane truipt in the fute of the companie.' One of the rules of the Debiteurs de Bois of Ghent was, that 'every member who does not present himself in arms under the banner of the trade when the good men of Ghent unite in warlike array will forfeit the price of several days' work each time.' The banners of the German Associations of Bakers are very highly venerated by the members, and large sums have been spent in renewing or replacing them. Sometimes the Scottish Trades had a common banner, the most celebrated of which was the blue silk, with its white St. Andrew's Cross, of the Edinburgh Incorporated Trades, and its loyal motto 'And we that is Trades shall ever pray to be faithfull for the defence of his sacred Maiesties royal person till death,' which contrasts so delightfully with the variant of James VI. to Prince Henry: 'The craftsmen think we should be content with their work how bad soever it be; and if in anything they be controuled, up goes the Blue Blanket.'

[1] It would appear from this entry that there was a distinction between enrolling an apprentice and admitting one. Probably the youth had been inscribed in the Town or Tolbooth Book, but no formal intimation had been made to the trade, nor had the fees due to the trade been paid. 'Inbewkit' is akin to the 'Einschreibung' of apprentices in Germany to-day, and the act of freeing them from their indentures is known as 'Ausschreibung.'

Act annent ressaving of prentises

The quhilk day, It is statute and concludit be dauid kynneir, deakin of ye baxteris of S^t androus, and haill breithren of ye said craft, being conuenit within ye commoun Ile of ye parroche kyrk[1] of sanct androus, That na brother of ye craft at ony tyme heireftir ressave ane prenteis bot except the said prenteis be past sextene zeiris of aige (except onlie brether sonne[2]) vndir the paine of ten lib.

[2nd August 1589.]

The quhilk Day, it is statute and ordanit be ye deakin and haill breithren That quhatsumewir brother of craft participatis or ressauis ony pairt of ye silver presentlie within ye box pay all tyme heireftir yeirlie and termelie yair prowist penny vndir ye paine of depriuitioun fra baiking.[3]

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[1] In 1610 Archbishop Gladstones held a diocesan synod in an aisle of the Kirk, and various portions of the Church and Kirkyard were used for meetings of the trades. Some of them, according to Dr. Hay Fleming, were held in the communion aisle. Perhaps this was meant in the above instance; there was great liberty in spelling in those days.

[2] The advantage given to sons of freemen in allowing them to become apprentices under the age of sixteen, was in an opposite direction to that enjoyed by sons of bakers in Rome. There it was compulsory on bakers' sons to follow their fathers' trade, but those who were bereft of their parents while young, were spared the toil of the bakehouse until their twentieth year. Substitutes had to be provided for them, but when the youths entered upon their calling the substitutes were not released from the trade, and their descendants in turn had to follow it. The Forty Nine Articles of the Bakers of Paris, 1719, limited the age at which apprenticeship could begin to fourteen years. According to the rules of les Pâtissiers de pain d'épices of Paris, 1596, sons of masters were not considered as ordinary apprentices if they learnt the trade in their fathers' bakehouses, and the fathers could have the specified number of apprentices in addition. Everywhere the sons of bakers, as of all other freemen, were particularly well favoured. The period of apprenticeship was curtailed in their cases, the fees were reduced generally one-half, the assay was considerably simplified, and in Germany, the custom of travelling for a number of years to complete the trade education, was modified by reducing the number of years to about half the number demanded from those who were not so fortunate as to have had their fathers born before them. Hereditary privileges and monopolies were more extensive then than now.

[3] It may be inferred from this that needy tradesmen, who scarcely required charity, but who might require a loan, got temporary assistance, for which they paid interest or 'prowist penny.'

[13th September 1589.]

Nomina Consilii

Dauid kynneir	Jhonne hwneman
Dauid myllis, eldar	Jhonne Lawsoun
Alexander Scharpe	archbald Levingstoun
george greig	

The xxv Day of Nouember, The zeir of god, Jaj vc Lxxxix zeiris.

The Quhilk day, It is statute and ordanit be the deakin, his counsaile, and Remanent breithren of ye craft, That na brother of ye craft sell ony sex penny bred for plack braid,[1] nor send ye same to ony previe hous to be sawld, bot to keip ye pais conforme to yair premeis maid to ye provest, bailzeis, and magistratis of ye town Vndir na les painis nor dailing[2] of the braid and ten pundis money to be vplyftit incontinent and applyit to ye comoun vs and veilfaire of ye craft.

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[1] The plack was a billon coin, and the name probably came from the French plaque. Copper coins were first struck in Scotland in 1597, and consisted of a twopenny and a penny piece. Scots currency was abolished at the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, and at that time a plack was equal to one-third of a penny sterling. A plack was equal to fourpence Scots, and the six-penny bread mentioned was also the Scots denomination. Both this and the succeeding entry were prohibitive against selling higher priced articles instead of lower. Plack bread does not appear to have been a common denomination; it is not given by Jamieson, who gives plack aill (beer sold at a plack per pint) and plack pie. Plack aill is quoted from Aberdeen, and in the regulations controlling the bakers of that city there is one, under date of 25th November 1678, preventing bakers from making 'plack bannaks of oatmeal or pairings.' Readers of *Redgauntlet* will remember the scene in Crackenthorp's public-house when Peter Peebles put in a 'short plea' for a plack pie. 'Never heard of such a thing, master,' said the landlord, . . . 'Ye will maybe have nae whey then, nor buttermilk, nor ye couldna exhibit a souter's clod?' [a kind of bread roll or bap.] 'Can't tell what ye are talking about, master,' said Crackenthorp. 'Then ye will have nae breakfast that will come within the compass of a shilling Scots?' 'Which is a penny sterling,' answered Crackenthorp, with a sneer.' Plack bakes are mentioned in an entry of 28th May 1592.

[2] This is the only time in which this word is used to denote the very frequent punishment entailed in the confiscation of the bread. It was decreed at Aberdeen in 1570, in reference to the sale of meal at the Cross, that proper hours should be kept under 'the pane of deling of the samin.' In 1549 the

Item It is statute and ordanit be ye said deakin and his counsaile that na brother of ye craft sell to ony ny$_t$bur sex penny braid for fyve penny braid, vndir ye paine of fourty schillingis.

[18th June 1590.]

The keiparis off the keyis of ye box of the vretingis,
Alexander Scharpe Archbald Lewingstoun
David kynneir, keipar of the keyis of ye vretyngis.

[10th September 1590.]

Nomina Consilii

Dauid kynneir	george greig
Alexander scharpe	Jhonne hwneman
archbald Lewingstoun	Jhonne Lawsoun

The xxiiii Day of December, The zeir of god, Jaj vc lxxxxo

Act aganis Jhonne valker

The quhilk Day, It is statute and ordanit be ye breithren of ye craft, That gif ewir Jhonne Valker sall offend or Iniure Jhonne vylie, present deakin, as he hes instantlie done, or ony vthir that salbe in office heireftir, athir in worde or deid, Sall pay ten libis money to be applyit to ye veilfaire of ye craft.

[3rd June 1591.]

Keiparis of ye keyis of ye box
Alexander Scharpe George greig

The Sextent Day off Junii, The zeir of god, Jaj vc fourescore and alewin zeiris.

Intratio Gyb

[N.B.—The entry is fully written and then marked out with ink; it mentions that Thomas Gib becomes 'prenteis to' Thomas Moffett,' then follows]:—

Council passed regulations regarding prices, and if these were broken the magistrates had power 'to eschait and daill the same to the purale for thair contentioun.' In 1555 a similar rule was passed, including a condition that no baker should bake bread before two o'clock on Saturday afternoons, which if contravened rendered the bread liable to be 'escheit and delt to the puir folkis.'

This act with consent of bay^{t} ye parties is delete
I Jhonn wylle delkin with my haund.

Act aganis Jon greig

Vpon ye xi day of Junii, Jaj v^{c} fourescore alewin zeiris, The quhilk Day, Jo^{n} grig, be sufficient probatioun being convict to haife transgressit ye act maid annent ye halding of twa bwithis & sellyng of braid in twa howss, Is ordanit to pay xLs vnlaw. And siclyk It is ordanit that gif ye said Johnne or ony vthir broyer sall do ye lyk to pay xLs for ilk tyme.[1]

Die tertio Mensis octobris Anno domini millesimo Quingentesimo Nonagesimo primo.

Act annent the takyng away ane brotheris hors fra his dur

The quhilk Day, It is statute, votit, and concludit be ye haill breither of craft, being convenit vpon ye gallow hill, That quhatsumewir brother of craft sall attempt or tak vpon hand To tak ane brotheris hors send be the millaris fra his hous or bwithe dur sall pay xLs to ye craft conforme to ye auld actis of craft maid thairannent.[2]

[3rd October 1591]

Nomina Consilii

Alexander scharpe	Dauid kynneir
Robert valker	george greig

[1] On 24th November 1685, the Aberdeen bakers 'strictly statute and ordained that whatsomever frieman of the baxter traid that has more stocks or shops than ane, and that sells breed in ane place more than what by the calling sall be called ane stock or shop, the person guilty sall pay to the boxmaster of the craft four pounds Scots for the first fault, and so to be double the *toties quoties*, and this to stand unalterable in all tyme cuming.' On 8th October 1529, and again on 9th January 1535-6, the Edinburgh Town Council decreed that 'ilk baxter haif bot ane buith to sell his breid in allanerlie, and his mark putton his breid.' As late as 28th August 1721, the Coventry bakers enacted 'that no Master Baker shall keep above one Shop to Sell bread in, within the the Said City and Subburbs thereof.' Rule sixteen of the Statutes of the Bakers of St. Germain-des-Prés, 1659, was 'that none of the said bakers shall keep more than one shop at a time under any pretext whatever.' The Prévôt de Paris in 1489 proscribed the pastry-bakers from having more than one shop, except on the market-days, which were Wednesday and Saturday, when they were permitted to erect stalls.

[2] There is no previous reference to this rule, so that it must have been included in the earlier book or books which have been lost.

Act annent molestyng ye deakin or ony broyer

The quhilk Day, It is statute, concludit, and ordanit be ye haill breithren with yair haill consentis that gif ony brother of craft sall Iniure, molest, missay, or offend ye deakin, officer, or ony vthir broyer of craft be worde or deid sall pay ten pundis onforgiffin, to be vplyftit incontinent of his radyest gudis and geir.

Vpon ye Penult day of october, The zeir of god, Jaj vc Lxxxxi zeiris is, Issobell durye, Relict of vmquhile dauid Myllis, eldar, quha In presence of Jhonne vylie, deakin, Renunces and discharges all privelege, fredome, and Libertie of baikyng sho may allege or pretend be ony rycht sho mey have or allege throw hir said vmquhile spows and that in fawouris of Jhonne myllis, hir sone.

The fourtene Day of Aprile, The zeir of god, Jaj vc fourescore and twelf zeiris.

Act annent Carmic-haell

The quhilk Day, Jhonne vylie, deakin, and twa breither of ilk baik hous, being convenit to tak ordour annent the complaint offerit vp be Archbald dupling aganis Androw Carmichiell for rowging owt ye said archbaldis heare owt of his beard And ye saidis pairteis being submittit yis day In Jugement before ye provest and bailzeis[1] The saidis deakin and breithrein eftir dew tryell tane be yame of vitness, yairwpon findis ye said androw to have done vrang, And yairfore ordanis and decernis the said Androw to pas[2] instantlie to ye

[1] Sometimes offenders were punished for the same offence by two different tribunals. Frequently Church discipline was exercised upon delinquents before or after they had been punished by the civil authority. In this case the parties had been before the magistrates, who may have punished them and then remitted them to the trade for further treatment. Perhaps the prior punishment modified the trade sentence to the act of apology, to be followed, however, by the severer one of expulsion in case of repetition. The men appear to have been servants, and the statement that the judges were the Deacon and two brethren from each bakehouse, indicates the manner in which justice was administered upon servants, and suggests the principle of a man being tried by his peers.

[2] The passing to apologise where the offence was done served to imprint upon the mind of the offender the recollection of the offence. It was a moral kind of 'beating the parish bounds.' In the brawl between the Melvilles and

place quhair ye offence ves done and crave his offence. And gif ewir he sall offend the said archbald or ony vthir to be simpliciter[1] depryvit and dischargit of all service in ony baikhous within yis town and to be dischargit instantlie fra all service within ye said baikhous quhair he last servit.

The xxviii day of Maii, The zeir of god, Jaj vc fourescore and twelf zeiris.

Act Annent ye baikyng of baikis

The quhilk Day, It is statute and ordanit that na baxter sall tak vpon hand to sell comounlie baikis, or plak bekis, sex penny baikis, or thre penny baikis, or ony kynd of baikis, throw ye town, except in barrellis or in hundrethis to gang to the sea, vndir the paine of xls onforgiffin.[2] And attour[3] that na furnissour nor foreman in a baikhous bot yai sall adverteis the deakin and his counsell of ony that braikis yis ordour and act aboue vretin, or puttis in baikis with quhytt dowche in the ovine, vndir ye paine of xls foresaid.

The Alewint day of Julii, The zeir of god, Jaj vc fourescore and twelf zeiris.

Act aganis prenteiss for cummyng to ye merkat

The quhilk day, It is ordanit be ye deakin and haill breithrein of ye craft that na prenteis salbe fund in the quheit merkat vndir na les paine nor ten libis money onforgiffin, to be vplyftit instantlie eftir he beis fund in ye merkat.[4]

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the Boyds and Cunninghams in 1578, the Rector and Magistrates 'decern Alexander Cunninghame, for his wrang, to come to the place whar it was done, and ther humblie, bear-futted and bear-headet, to crave the Rectour, the Principall, and me, the persone offendit, forgiffnes.' (Mr James Melvill's Diary, p. 71.)

[1] Simply, without further trial or proceedings.

[2] A different act was passed in Dundee on 13th March 1699. 'The Craft enacted That, as it would be a great predjudice to the Craft in baking of any flour, bisket, grofe, or smoth to sell to any skiper or seaman to the usse of ther ship, it should not be done wnder the penaltie of fiftie merks Scots monie for the first falt, and for the second falt fiftie pound Scots monie, *toties quoties*.' See entry under 9th September 1598.

[3] Moreover.

[4] Apparently the important operation of buying wheat was not one of the sections of the mystery that masters were expected to teach their apprentices. But the prohibition was not common to other guilds. In York in 1567, bakers' wives were prohibited from buying wheat, rye, or beans, unless their husbands

The xvi Day of August, Jaj v^{c} fourescore twelf zeiris.

Act annent bying of quheit to straingeris

The quhilk Day, The deakin, counsell, and haill remanent breithrein of craft, all in ane voice, Ratifeis and apprevis that ordinance maid annent the dischargeing of breither fra bying ony quheit to straungeris, And zit as of before ordanis and decernis that quhatsumewir brother of craft sall at ony tyme heireftir attempt, presume, or tak vpon hand to by ony quheit on ye merkat day to ony straunger or owt land man, except in sede tyme, sall pay ten pundis money to be applyit to ye vs and veilfaire of craft.

The xviii day of August, Jaj v^{c} fourescore twelf zeiris.

Act annent Iniuring ane broyer of ane vthir.

The quhilk day, Jhonne Vylie, deakin, with his counsaile and certane of ewerie baikhous, fforsamekle as yai ar troublit daylie throw complaintis of breither for mispersonyng and Iniuryng vtheris, Thairfore for avoyding of ye lyk heireftir and that thai leive in brotherlie love, All in ane voice ordanis (an) that quhatsumewir brother sall Iniure or offend ony vthir or ye deakin be worde or deid sall pay xls money onforgiffin.

[9th September 1592.]

Counsell to ye dekin for yis instant zeir, alexander scharpe, dauid kinnair, george greig, archebald lausone, Jhone hunnimane, Jhone myllis.

[15th September 1593.]

Nomina The Counsell.

George greig	Jhonne Myllis
Alexander sharpe	Johnne hwneman, positor
Archbald lewingstoun	Johnne lawsoun

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were from home or were sick, and at the same time it was enacted that no house should be represented on the market by more than one person. Customs appear to have differed regarding what was taught to apprentices. One of the earlier entries in St. Andrews refers to the damage done by an apprentice to his employer in malt-making, whilst in Dundee in 1620, it was ordained that 'considering that it was reported faults and enormities were done by some of the brethren, that if any member permit their apprentices to make malt during their apprenticeship, as if they had been freemen, without advising the treasurer or the deacon of the Craft, they shall pay to the Deacon £20 Scots, toties quoties. And if the master be privy thereto, he shall also pay the like sum of £20.'

The Sewint day of merche, The zeir of god, Jaj vc fourescore threttene zeiris.

The quhilk Day, Dauid kynneir, deakin, and haill remanent breither of craft, being convenit for veill of ye craft, It is statute and ordanit that na brother of craft preswme nor tak vpon hand To transport or carrye of yis town to ony vthir pairt ony braid in great or in small, without leife askit, gottin, and obtenit of ye deakin of ye craft for the tyme, vndir ye paine of xls for ilk tyme ony broyer salbe fund or tryit to transgres yis present act And siclyk it is statut that na servand nor onfrie man sall gang athir in landvart or in buirgse to baik meat, bread, or ony vthir effairis according to ye baxter craft without leife, askit and gottin, of ye deakin, vndir ye paine of xls for ilk tyme.[1] Act for caryinng braid aff ye town

The xxv Day of Junii, The zeir of god, Jaj vc lxxx fourtene zeiris.

The quhilk Day, dauid kynneir being deakin, In presens of ye haill breither of craft, It is statut and ordanit that na prenteis, nocht being ane brotheris sone, be ressauit to work in ony baik hous within yis citie quhill yai first pay xls to ye box of ye craft. And siclyk it is statut that na freiman be ressauit among ye breither quhill he serve ye craft as officer for ane zeir or ellis pay xls for ane officeris fie. Act annent prentiss to be ressauit freiman

Annent ye officer

[14th September 1594.]

Nomina Consilii

Johnne hwneman, positor	Alexander sharpe
Archbald lewingstoun	Johnne myls
Dauid pitcairn[2]	Robert valker
george grig	Dauid tailzour

[1] At margin the following is written (there is no mark to indicate where it is to be taken in):—and tryit be him and some of ye counsaile that ye bread is nocht sufficient

[2] On 18th November 1584, Elene Carno confessed to misconduct with David Pitcairn, baxter, on Lady Day in Lentron, in her father's house at Blabow Mill. She was ordered to make humiliation, and Pitcairn was warned to appear eight days afterwards. On the 2nd of December he admitted pater-

[19th June 1595.]

Act aganis Crystie and Lawsoun

The samyn day, Eftir it ves sufficientlie tryit and provin that Alexander chrystie and androw Lawsoun[1] hes bene vnproffitabill serwandis to ye maisteris in ye baikhous and yat yai tewk dewche[2] of the haill maisteris of ye baikhous in great quantitie, Thairfore the Deakin and haill breither of craft, all in ane voice, hes concludit, statut, and ordanit that ilk ane of ye saidis alexander and androw for this present offence pay xLs and newir to gett serwice quhill yai satisfie ye same. And gif ewir heireftir it salbe fund or tryit yat yai or ony of yame or ony vthir service man abowt ony baikhous do ye lyk heireftir to tak of ony manis dewche or floure, to be secludit simpliciter perpetuallie fra all serwice and newir gett serwice in ony baikhous within yis citie.

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nity, and was ordered to enter into prison upon the following Saturday, and the woman the Saturday following, and the entry concludes 'Pitcarne hes satisfeit.'

[1] On 2nd August 1598, Andrew Lawson, along with a John Husband, confessed at the Session to playing and drinking extraordinarily, and were admonished. On 16th July 1600, along with one or two fellow-tradesmen, he was accused and confessed to taking part in night walking, playing at cards and dice, and other unseemly exercises. The delinquents were ordered to make public repentance.

[2] Although it would be hoping too much to expect that stealing from bakehouses had entirely ceased, yet the form of temptation appears to have changed. Dough does not offer a very tempting or valuable article for stealing, although other raw materials are still liable to be pilfered. But under the earlier conditions of bakehouse work it appears to have been frequently stolen. In the time of Richard II. bakers and millers in London who stole dough or flour were drawn upon a hurdle and committed to the Tun or round prison on Cornhill. Stealing was provided for, in a general way, by the Dundee trade declaring that an apprentice should lose the benefit of his apprenticeship if 'he be funden to hawe theftouslie stollin or away put any of his Mrs guds co-mittit to his charge.' 'Siclyk, gif the said prentes be his negligence or slouth sufferis ony of his Mrs guds or geir to be stollin, he and his caur sall pay to his maister for the first fault the dubill of that qlk happins to be stollin; and for the next fault to be censurit be the deacone and counsell of ye Craft' [31st October 1615]. Similarly in Aberdeen, 'Item, forsameikle as the servants and prentisses of their incorporation hes the whole credit of thair maister's stuff and everie guid and gear, and thereby may harm thaim many wayis behind thair backs to thair hurt and prejudice, thairfor it is statute and ordained gif ony of the said servants and prentisses wrangs or skaithes thair maisters directly or indirectly at ony tyme hereafter be away taken of thair stuff moneys, or thair guids, the doer thereof sall be expelled out of all service and baikhouses, and never to receive the benefit of the craft as friemen in ony tyme thereafter, and to be punishit in his person at the will of the maisters' [8th August 1636]

[12th September 1595.]

Names off conssell

Dauid kinnair	Jhone huniman
Jhone Wellie	Duncane Dunkessone
Jhone myllis	robert Walcare

Die octauo mensis octobris Jajvc Nonagesimo quinto.

Act annent bying of quheit at yair awin houss or bwithis

The quhilk Day, In presence of george grig, present deakin, and haill breither of craft, being convenit vpon ye hill, It is statut and ordanit that na man ressaue or by ony quhyt vpon ye merkat day at yair awin hous or bwithe duiris without it be first presentit to ye merkat and bocht yair vndir ye pane of xls, to be applyit to quhat vs ye deakin and counsell of ye craft for ye tyme sall think expedient.[1]

[1] This was a common rule, and was enforced in the interests of the public and the petty customs of the markets. Its primary object, no doubt, was that the ordinary purchasers should have the opportunity of buying all necessary commodities at a fair price. As far as the bakers were concerned, it was needful that the price at which their wheat was purchased should be a public and official one, so that the price of bread should be fixed upon a known and regular standard. For these reasons 'forestalling the market' was severely repressed. Glasgow Town Council Records bear on 10th October 1575, 'it is statute and ordanit that na mele salbe sauld nor seckis oppinnit thairto quhill ten houris of the daye, and that nane foirstall the mercatt in bying of mele cumand to the mercatt to sell and top agane, and ilk sellare and awner of the mele mett the samyn thame selfis according to the auld statutis, vndir the pane of aucht schillingis ilk falt, and that thair be na mele hid in the houssis bot all presentit to the mercatt sted nor sauld outwitht the samyn, vndir the said pane.' Although the wheat had to be bought in the market, there does not appear to have been any specified time when the purchasers were to be at liberty to attend, as was the case in Dundee. There no brewer, maltman, or baker was allowed to present himself, or even to be seen, before eleven o'clock, under the penalty of twenty shillings. There were two reasons why the private purchase of wheat was prevented; first, that there might be no corner in wheat, which would prevent the ordinary citizen from purchasing in the public market, and second, that the 'tacksman' of the petty customs might not be defrauded of his opportunity of exacting the dues. There was not much liberty of contract or freedom of trade in those days, for if a wheat-seller had wheat in his possession and refused to sell it at the recognised price to a baker who required it, he was punished by suspension from wheat-dealing for a year and a day. In the same way, if a baker had wheat or flour on his premises, and no bread in his shop or even in his oven, he was debarred from baking for a like period. The regulation of food-stuffs, at a time when plenty and dearth made the difference between abundance and distress, gravely exercised governing bodies, upon whom the responsibility of maintaining content, and, to a great extent, comfort, fell with no ordinary weight. They had to provide against miniature 'corners,'

Die Vigesimo mensis octobris Jaj v^c^ Nonagesimo quinto.

Act annent baikyng eat meill peis meill and beir meill

The quhilk Day, the deakin and counsell of craft, haiffing libertie and liceance of ye provest and bailleis of yis citie to tak ordour with yair craft annent punishyng of ye baikeris of eat

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the size of which, against our modern 'deals' in wheat, make them look absurd, but which, at that period of restricted supplies, influenced to a very slight extent by foreign trade, were serious enough; more so, as a matter of fact, than now, when the results of a harvest in every month of the year can be poured into a Free-Trade market, where in times of enhanced prices, the very increase attracts the article from every part of the wheat-growing world. Money is now the great magnet which draws the necessary supply, but in the straightened markets of the burghs of Scotland the purchasing power of money was strictly limited. A buyer could purchase up to the extent of his actual requirements, for a strictly limited period, and there his purchasing liberty was curtailed. The regulations drawn up by the Aberdeen Council explain clearly the circumstances in the northern burgh, and no doubt they were very similar in St. Andrews. 4th October 1598, 'Item, the prouest, bailleis, and counsall, deliberatlie considering quhow thair hes bene sindrie actis and constitutionis maid oberfoir, be the magistrattis of this burght, aganis regrateris of victuall, and of the meill and malt mercattis, quhilkis not receaving thair awin dew executioun, nor the contravenaris thairof punischit, is the ground and occasioun of the present darth and exorbitant prices of victuall, croppin in within this burght, by all wther townis and burrowis of this realme; and that thair is sic a multitude of regrateris, and skafferis of the wymbes of the puir, rissin vp within this burght, quha hes thair onlie tred be passing to landvart throchout the four halffis round about this burght, and bying the victuall fra the laboraris of the ground and husbondmen, befoir the cornis pas to kill, quhilk victuall gif it had not bene sua bocht afoirhand wald hawe presentit the townis mercat, and bene sauld theirin, and sua maid a flurisching mercat of victuall of ane competent and easie price, to the comfort of the puir, quhilkis enormities langer can not be sustenit, without the eminent perrell and wrack of this commoun wealth, for remeid quhairof, and for repressing of the saidis regrateris, sa contagious enemies to this commoun weill, devoraris and suckeris of the blude and substance of the pure, and that ane flourisching mercat may be had of meill and malt within this burght in tyme cumming, as was obefoir, it is statute and ordanit that it sall not be lesum to na maner of persoun, nather burges of gild, craftisman, nor any vther inhabitant of this burght quhatsumeuer, to by ony mair victuall nor may sufficientlie furneis his awin hous, befoir the secund day of the moneth of Februar, and that na inhabitant, frie nor vnfrie, maltmen, baxteris, nor vtheris in any tyme cumming, by victuall in smallis throw the cuntrie fra the laboraris of the ground and husbandmen, and gadder the same in gryt, and keip the same to ane darth, mair nor may serve for the interteneing of his hous; and quhasoever salbe apprehendit or fund contravening thir presentis sall incur the vnlaw of ten pundis for the first fault efter convictioun, and tuentie pundis for the secund falt, and sua furth, *toties quoties*, as they happin to be convict, and vlklie inquisitioun to be takin be the dean of gild of the contravenaris of this statute. Item, the prouest, baillies, and counsall, considdering the gryt abvse croppin in the commoun meill mercatt of this

bread, Statutis and ordanis that na broyer of ye craft baik fra yis tyme furt (baik) ony eat meill, peis, or beir meill,[1] bot onlie quhyt

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burght, be reasoun of impvnitie of the transgressoris of the statute maid theiranent obefoir, and throw laik of diligent attendance to avayt on the same for reforming of abuses and disordouris theirin, tending not onlie to the gryt preiudice of this commoun wealth, and haulding vp and fostering of darth of victuall, bot also to the hurt and skayth of thame quha bringis in meill to the samen, to be sauld: for remeid quherof, and reforming of the abuses and disordouris, it is statute and ordanit that thair sall be na mercatt maid on meill in tyme cuming, nor nane mett nor sauld, quhill the hour of tuelf in the day, and that nane within this burght presvme nor take vpon hand to tak ony meill furth of the commoun hall, to be sauld in ony vther pairt of the town, bot that the same be sauld and mett within the said commoun hall, and in na vther pairt, and that the custumar custume the same within the hall, and na vther place; and als, that na nichtbour within this burght, by ony malt or meill without the portis, cuming to the mercat to be sauld, bot that the samen present the commoun mercatt, and remane theirin quhill the ordinar hour forsaid, befoir or it be lesum to any inhabitant of this burght to by, or arll the same; and siclyk, that it sall not be lesum to any induellar in this burght, to by mair meill furth of the commoun meill mercat theirof, nor may sufficientlie interteine and sustene his hous and famelie, quhill the nixt mercat day theirefter folowing; and quhasoeuer contravenis this present ordinance in any poynt theirof, the contraveinar, efter convictioun, to incur the vnlaw of fourtie s., to be vptackin, *toties quoties*, as they happin to be convict, but favour; and the bailleis to attend everie mercatt day on the meall mercatt, that na disordour nor abose be sufferit theirin, and to sie the statute aboue writtin preceislie kepit in all poyntis.'

[1] It appears to have been by no means uncommon for bakers everywhere to deceive their customers with flour made from sophisticated grains. In 1589 three York bakers were censured for selling coarse meal to the poor. The charge against them was 'that they haue mingled and made up the same with branne, chesell [sand] and suche like stuffe, And further that they do commonlye vse to buye evill corne and to mingle Rye, Barley, Beanes and Oates together and to grind the same into meale, and so to sell the same to the poore;' they and other bakers were debarred from doing so in future, but a reservation was made in favour of fine and good wheatmeal and beanmeal. The section of an Act of Parliament of George II. dealing with this subject, provided 'that no person shall knowingly put into any corn, meal, or flour, which shall be ground, dressed, bolted, or manufactured for sale, either at the time of grinding, dressing, bolting, or in any wise manufacturing the same, or at any other time or times, any ingredient mixture, or thing whatsoever, or shall knowingly sell, offer or expose to or for sale, any meal or flour of one sort of grain, as or for the meal or flour of any other sort of grain, or anything as or for or mixed with, the meal or flour of any grain, which shall not be the real and genuine meal or flour of the grain the same shall import to be and ought to be, upon pain that every person who shall offend the premises, and shall thereof be convicted in manner herein after prescribed, shall forfeit and pay for every such offence, any sum not exceeding five pounds, nor less than forty shillings, as the magistrate or magistrates, justice or justices, before whom any such

and rye meill, vndir ye pane of XL fourtie [*sic*] shillyngis, except liceance be gottin and obtenit be ye provest and bailzeis yairto.[1]

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offender or offenders shall be convicted, shall think fit to order.' Piers Plowman informs Hunger,

'A lof of Benes and Bren, I bake for my children,'

with Piers and his class it was a hunger and a burst, for, after harvest,

'Ne no Beggare eten Bread, that Benes inne come,
Bote Cocket and Cler Matin, an of clene whete.'

Barley bread and bannocks survived this ban. Scotsmen went everywhere where they could,

'And beir bonnokkis with thame they tak.'

Barley bread was even included in the soldier's ration. 'Upon Sunday the 2 June [1639] thir orders wir given; To send out two or thrie out of everie regiment to the severall quarters of the country to assist the Commissars in taking up of victuall, baiking and brueing and sending it in to the generall proviant master that he may charge it in his bookes and distribute the same conforme to the proportions efter specified viz. to everie souldier two pound weght of aite bread in the day and twentie eight ounce of wheat bread and ane pynt of aile in the day, and what the sojours wints in one day shall be payd them so soone as it comes in to the magazin.' (Johnston of Warriston's Diary, p. 55).

[1] This appears to have been a total prohibition of the use of oatmeal in bread-making, a lamentable falling away for the Land of Cakes. Bread made from wheat and rye was to be permitted, but not from oat flour, pease meal, or barley. Wheat and rye were held in highest esteem, oats came very far down the list—at least in England. This may be seen from Harrison's *A Description of England;* 'The bread throughout the land is made of such grain as the soil yieldeth; nevertheless the gentility commonly provide themselves sufficiently of wheat for their own tables, whilst their household and poor neighbours in some shires are forced to content themselves with rye, or barley, yea, and in time of dearth, many with bread made either of beans, peas, or oats, or of altogether and some acorns among, of which scourge the poorest do soonest taste, sith they are least able to provide themselves of better. I will not say that this extremity is oft so well to be seen in time of plenty as of dearth, but, if I should, I could easily bring my trial. For, albeit that there be much more ground eared now almost in every place than hath been of late years, yet such a price of corn continueth in each town and market without any just cause (except it be that landlords do get licences to carry corn out of the land only to keep up the prices for their own private gains and ruin of the commonwealth), that the artificer and poor labouring man is not able to reach unto it, but is driven to content himself with horse corn—I mean beans, peas, oats, tares, and lentils; and therefore it is a true proverb, and never so well verified as now, that 'Hunger setteth his first foot into the horse manger.' If the world last awhile after this rate, wheat and rye will be no grain for poor men to feed on; and some caterpillars there are that can say so much already.' About the time of the above entry, the Dundee Town Council ordained [1591] 'that the baxteres of this Brugh bake thar bread good clean and sufficient and dry stuffe And that nane of the saides baxteres presume to Bake or sell any oat bread within this Brugh vnder the pain continit in the actes maid theranent of before.' In 1608 the prohibition was removed in St. Andrews, for the bakers were

[26th March 1596.]

The quhilk Day, george grig being deakin, It is statut and ordanit be ye votis of ye haill breither of ye Craft being convenit, That na broyer of craft presume nor tak vpon hand To baik twa kynd of braidis of syndre paises and veychtie all of ane pryce heireftir, vndir na les paine of XLS, to be payit for ilk tyme yai sall be found to do ye same. Act annent the baikyng or sellyng of twa kyndis of braid.

Vpon the xxv Day of Maii, The zeir of god, Jajvc foure-score sexten zeiris. It is statut and ordanit, be ye advys and consent of the haill breither of Craft, That gif ony millar with quhome ony of ye saidis breither gryndis yair quheit Sall spill ony quheit or flowre in ye grynding yairof, or gif ony quheit or flowre sall inlaik[1], be vantit, or tane avay be ye saidis milla[ris], The fault being tryit the haill breither to be dischargit to grynd ony quheit at ye said myln or laying on of laidis to gang to ye said myln quhill ye pairtie hurt complenand be satisfeit at ye sycht of ye deakin And quhatewir broyer sall aggre with ye millar without ordour be first takin be ye deakin and his counsaill yairannent is ordanit to pay XLS vnforgewin to ye [*sic*] applyit to quhat vs ye deakin and counsell of the craft for ye tyme sall think expedient.[2] Act Annent spillying of quheit.

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permitted to make it, provided it was made from clean oatmeal, unmixed with any other grain, and in 1658 one of the trade was fined for mixing oatmeal with the flour, from which he had made his bread. Aberdeen Town Council, in 1656, 'discharges all ait bread to be baikin, except aucht d. ait loaves, which sall be of weght auchten vnce, vnder the paine of fyue punds money, *toties quoties*, and confiscatioun of the bread, and that they be weel baikin bread, vnhet or thomit, of good whit meil.' But on the same day they agreed 'that ther be no baiker of ait kaiks within this brugh.' Peebles Town Council, on 12th December 1569, decreed 'that thair be na ait breid bakin in this tovne bot that the baxstaris baik kakis.' Oatbread got rehabilitated in public favour, and even Prince Charlie in his wanderings preferred Highland oatbread to bisket, which he had in company, calling it his own country bread. Barley bread, which shared the ban of the bakers, became, along with brown ale, the repository of the faith of Cristal Nixon, in preference to word and writ. In 1704 the bakers of Eisenach were expected to make certain white loaves from the best and clearest meal, and it was considered an adulteration to mix with it oats or barley (Affter mehl oder auch Gersten mehl).

[1] The employment of 'inlaik' here appears to be redundant. It means to want or to be deficient.

[2] This solitary entry reflecting upon the honesty and precision of the millers, indicates that there were occasional disputes between them and their

Act Annent furnissaris paying for haitis

Vpon the xv Day of Junii, The zeir of god, Jaj v^c^ foure-score sexten zeiris. It is aggreit vpon betuix ye furnisaris of baikhowss and ye breithren That ye saidis furnissaris with thair avin consentis sall haife fra this tyme furthe quhill this tyme twelf month for ilk hate[1] iiis iiiid. And siclyk that nane depart nor gang avay to baik with ony vthir without ane lesum[2] fault vndir ye paine of xls.[3]

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customers. The language is very temperate in its tone, and shows that the bakers recognised that there was a possibility of an alternative to the stealing. There is no need to quote from the extensive legendary and popular accounts of the millers' dishonesty. Their name is legion! Many are amusing, many absurd, and no doubt a large proportion true. But the subject is too wide a one to discuss here. There is some satisfaction for the millers' successors, in the knowledge that they were coupled with the bakers in this respect, alike in staid statutes and in light legend. An Act of Edward I. provides 'that if a miller shall be convicted of stealing flour, or having been guilty of any fraud, the mill horse, coming to the pound, shall be there attached with the flour until such time as the owner of the mill shall come to redeem his horse. Also, that the owner of the mill shall produce the person who so stole the flour, or was guilty of such fraud; or, if not, such owner must pay half a mark. And if the miller shall appear, he shall be adjudged the punishment of the hurdle, like a baker; and nevertheless, the owner must make satisfaction for the flour that is deficient, or else must pay money for the same, to its full value. And if the owner shall be unwilling to appear, or to produce the miller, all persons shall be forbidden to go to his mill with corn for grinding, until such satisfaction shall have been made.' Long before the St. Andrews' bakers were putting this curb on the carlessness or dishonesty of the millers, *Regiam Majestatem* had made the charge that the millers 'malitiouslie occupyes ane greater space betwix the happer and the mylustane, for their ane profite; for the law permits there na mair space nor ane sommer wand of ane hazel trie.' Spilling of corn was by no means uncommon at the mills. The floor sweepings would probably be a perquisite of the miller or his man. An instance of the miller's man being fined for this fault occurs in *The Court Book of the Barony of Urie*, '27th October 1615, the said day the pickman [so called from his having to pick or sharpen the millstones], Alexander Makie, being persewit be Stewin Forbis for spilling of certane cornis be grinding thairof, and being probablye prowin, the said Allexander is ordaneit in all tym cwming to pey ten pundis *toties quoties* he happin to fall in the lyk scair.'

[1] From the context this looks like batch or ovenful, i.e., each heating or hate of the oven. In France wages are paid by the ovenfuls.

[2] Lawful.

[3] This arrangement practically settled the year's wages, and, at the same time, constituted a year's engagement. A week's engagement was not long enough in those days. Even down to 9th November 1699, the Dundee trade resolved to make arrangements for the year's service. Their entry was 'Wee, the masters and members of the baxter trade, being legalie calld, &c., taking to our serious considerations the great prejudice sustained by us, and the great

The xxvi day of Junii, The zeir of god, Jaj v^{c} four-score sexten zeiris.

The quhilk day, george grig being deakin, In presence of ye haill breithrein of ye craft, being convenit vpon ye hill, Eftir that ye court ves fensit, Johnne grig molestit and Iniurit alexander scharpe be wordis, boisting[1] till haife puttin handis in him In ye contempt of ye said deakin and haill breithrein The vocis of ye haill breithrein being compeirit It ves fund be pluralitie of votis that ye said Johne hes done ane great fault and offence in Iniuryng ye said Alexander, and yairfore all, In ane voice, ordanis and decernis ye said Johnne to pay for yis present offence xls, and to be dischargit fra bakyng quhill it be payit And gif he sall be found to do ye lyk heir-eftir to ye said alexander or ony vthir, To pay xl lib to be applyit and gewin to ye poore of ye craft. Act Annent Johnne Grig

Item ye samyn day, It is statut and ordanit that na broyer of craft heireftir presume or tak vpon hand to tak ony stranger or owtland man to bowt[2] within his bwith vndir ye pane of xls. Act annent owtland men bowtaris

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animosityes and heartburnings that doe arise amongst us, by reason of our long continued custome of handfasting with those that ar joyne with us in our beak-houses so early and long befor they enter them to ther work and services. And for supressing and preventing the lyke heartburnings and animosities in all time comeing, We unanimously, with on consent, statute that no master nor member of our sd trade shall handfast nor fie with on another in all time comeing, before the week immediatly preceeding palmsunday, and the week immediatly therafter; and that within the sd two weeks all the masters of beakhouses setle themselvs with those who are to work with them for the ensewing year, under the penaltie of ten pound Scots to be exacted from ebery on who contraveins this our statut, toties quoties, without favor, and for forti-fieing and corroborating the above-mentioned act we all have subscribed with our hands.'

[1] Threatening.

[2] To bolt. The miller only ground the wheat that was purchased by the baker and sent to the mill. The bolting of the flour would thus form an important addition to the work of the bakehouse, and from the different grades the various qualities of bread were made. The bakers in London were constrained to instruct their servants twice a year how to bolt and how to knead their dough. In the old English Assize conditions, the baker was allowed a certain amount for bolting, which was classified as a cost of production, in the same way as there were allowances for his workers, salt, yeast, candle, sack bands, etc.

[6th July 1596.]

Item, that Na broyer ressave ony strainger childer in thair baikhous quhill yai first aduerteis the deakin and ye Counsaile vndir the paine of xls.[1]

[11th September 1596.]

Nomina Consilii

1 Johnne hwniman, deakin
2 George grig
3 Johnne vylie
4 Dauid kynneir
5 Johnne myls
6 Robert valker
7 Alexander scharpe
8 Johnne grig
9 Archbald lewingstoun

Act annent Ryckert

Vpon the xv day of Januar, The zeir of god, Jajv^{c} fourescore Sexten zeiris. The quhilk day, It is concludit, aggreit, and ordanit be ye advys off ye haill breither of craft, That na baikhous heireftir Ressave dauid Ryckert nor na vthir broyer of craft To baik ony kynd of meat, except it be ny^{t}bouris meat of ye toun, and ye furnissaris that Ressaves yame and tellis nocht sall pay foure lib onforgewin.

Admissio Dunkesoun ad Libertatem

Vpon the Twelfe day of februar, The zeir of god, Jajv^{c} fourescore and Sexten zeiris. Androw Dunkesoun, lawchtfull eldest son to duncan dunkesoun, is admittit and Ressauit freiman and broyer to ye libertie and fredome of Craft To vse and Joys ye haill privileges of craft and payit his dewitie to ye craft and maid his aithe as vs is. And the samyn day It is concludit and ordanit that na brother sall solist or procure

[1] So in York in 1588:—'It is agreed by the Lord Maior and Aldermen then in the counsell Chamber assembled, that none of the sayd occupacion of bakers shall within foure yeares next after suche tyme as he shall sett up as maister in the sayd craft, take any apprentice into his service, to exercise any parte of his trayd, except he be the child of a free cittizen of this cittye; which it shalbe lawfull for them to take at anye tyme, so that the sayd apprentice be bound for no less terme than eleaven or twelve yeares as his age shall require, at the discrecion of the Lorde Maior for the tyme beinge, because and reason the powre children of this Cittye are to be placed in service, vpon payne of euerye one offending herein to forfaite xls for euerye offence, to be payd and deuided, thone halfe to the common Chamber, and thother halfe to the sayd occupacion.'

to tak ony [brother]* thing doun of xx lib for his ressait to ye fredome vndir the pane of xls. *Deleted

The xvi of februar 1596.

The quhilk day, It is decernit that dauid Ryckert gett na service within ony baikhous in yis citie quhill he find cautioun he sall newir bak onlesum meat bot sic as be ny^t bouris meat of ye toun and quhill he pay ye foure pundis quharin he is alrady vnlawit for baiking sic meat. Act aganis Dauid Ryckert

Die xxvi^to aprilis Jajv^c Nonagesimo Septimo.

The quhilk day, Johnne hwniman, eldar, being deakin, the haill breithrein of craft being convenit togidder, Considering the great hurt ye craft hes sustenit throw taking in of prenteiss and freimen to ye craft for ovir letill, Thairfore it is concludit, statute, and ordanit be ye said deakin & counsell with ye advys of ye haill breithrein fore saidis, That na prenteis be tane in nor enterit quhill he pay at his entrie to his prenteiship before he becum bund tuentie pundis money to the craft at his inbewkyng. Item siclyk it is statut be ye advys of ye saidis deakin, counsell, and haill breithrein, That at ye Rynning owt of yair prenteisheip before yai [be] admittit to ye fredome of craft as brother thai sall pay to the said craft before yai be ressauit & inbewkit ane hundreth merkis money foresaid. Act annent the Ressaving of prenteises

Act annent the Ressaitt of freimen

Vpon the Tent day of September, The zeir of god, Jaj v^c fourescore Sewinten zeiris, being ye day of the electioun of the deakins of craftis in S^t androus, Eftir Johnne hwniman, last deakin, hed dimittit his office, Johnie vylie, be pluralitie of votes, is electit and chosen deakin to thame for yis zeir tocum quha hes sworn and promitit dewtifull obedience to him as deakin duryng his tyme, and the said Johnie vylie deakin foresaid maid his aith for leill and trew administratioun of his office. Johnne vylie Deakin

Nomina Consilii

Archbald Lewingstoun[1] 1 Johnne hwniman

[1] Livingstone's name is inserted in the original but has no number attached to it.

2 Johnne myls
3 George grig
4 Duncan Dunkesoun
5 Robert valker
6 David Kynneir

[6th October 1597.]

Act annent the paying at ye mylnis for grynding

The quhilk day, It is statute and ordanit be the advys of ye haill breither being present, That na brother of craft presume or tak vpon hand to giffe ony mair at ony miln quhare yai grind at, mair nor thre leipes of ilk thre bollis of knaiship flowr,[1] vndir the paine of xls to be payit be ilk ane quha payis ony mair.

The samyn day, It is siclyk [statute] that quhatsumewir broyer sall complaine vpon ane vthir to ye deakin and aggreis by[2] the deakin the complaint being anis offerit sall pay xls onforgewin.

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[1] Knaveship flour was the payment in kind made to the miller's man or knave. A lippie or a forpit was the fourth part of a peck; the boll varied at different times and places. The amount to be paid in knaveship was often a cause of differences. In the *Court Book of the Barony of Urie*, under date of 8th June 1604, appears 'the pickeman [miller's man] shall haue for his peanes in grindeing of twente bollis gryt corne, ane pek halff pek meill, and ane pek meill for the grindeing of twente boll small corne, and ane peck of meill for the metteing of twente boll meill.' An entry in the same book, but of a much later date, 1730, gives an interesting insight into the minor perquisites of the miller, 'The said ninth day of February, in presence forsaid, anent ane complaint given in by the whole above mentioned tennents within the said sucken [the district thirled to the mill] petitioning the knavships and loak [handful] or bannock belonging to the miller may be regulate, and that they are willing to pay full knawship, which hefore to the goodman of the miln was only ane lippie meall for grinding five pecks of shillin, the other fifth being applyed for making the millers luk and goodwill the better. But now they are content and creave that they may pay the whole knawship to the goodman, which is one lippie for the four pecks of shillin grinding, and instead of the dues commonly called luk and goodwill, they condisend to pay half of the said knaveship, which is half a lippie for the grinding of four pecks of shillin.' In a Process of Declarator between the Bakers of Canongate, Edinburgh, and Mrs Little Gilmour, concerning the multures at Canonmills in 1808, an old baker, who had been an apprentice in 1742, stated that the bakers of Canongate and North Leith paid multures in kind at about two pecks of wheat for eight bolls, and this was all the charge, and there were no 'mags' paid to the mill servants, except at the pleasure of the master bakers.

[2] Agrees without the Deacon's consent or knowledge.

Act annent Patrik Arthour

Vpon the xxvii day of Julii, The zeir of god, Jaj v^c^ foure-score and auchten zeiris. The deakin, Johnie vylie, and counsell of craft being convenit Annent the vrang and offence done be patrik arthour to george small, in ye quhyt merkat, this monenday last, The saidis pairteis being submittit to ye said delkin & his counsell, Eftir yai hed tryit the said patrik to haife done ane vrang to ye said george, Thay ordanit the said Patrik to confes his offence, chaik handis with ye said george, and to pay xls for this present offence. And gif ewir he or ony vthir broyer of craft sall do the lyk to ony broyer Sall pay Ten libis money vnforgewin to be applyit to quhat vs ye deakin for ye tyme and the counsell sall think gude & expedient.

[9th September 1598.]

The Names of Counsell

1 Johnne Vylie, deakin
2 William Dunkesoun, positor
Duncan Dunkesoun[1]
3 Johnne myls
4 Johnne hwniman
5 Dauid kynneir
6 Archbald Lewingstoun
7 Robert valker
8 Dauid Pitcairne
9 george grig

Act aganis Serwice men

Vpon the xxi day of September, zeir foresaid, It is statute and ordanit that quhatsumewir servandis of baik-howss sall tak vpon hand To baike baikes, or faiges, or bread leawes, to gang to ye sea Sall pay ten merkis money vnlaw. In lyk maner maisteris of baikhouss till informe yair servandis instantlie of yis present act. And quhat maister sall nocht shaw and aduerteis his servand of yair dewitie salbe convict of ye said penaltie.

[15th September 1599.]

Nomina Consilii

1 Johnne myls, deakin
2 Johnne Vylie
3 Johnne hwniman
4 William dunkesoun, positor
5 dauid kynneir
Robert Valkar[2]
6 george grig
7 Duncan dunkesoun
8 Alexander scharpe
9 Archbald lewingstoun

[1] Inserted, therefore not numbered.
[2] Accidentally omitted in numbering [?]

Keiparis of the Keyis of the box, George grig, Duncan dunkesone.

Johnne hwniman hes the key of the keist of the vretis.

Vpon the first day of Januar, The zeir of god, Jajvc fourescore and Nynten zeiris, thair ves Ressauit be Johnie myls, deakin, and William Dunkesoun, positor, in name and at command of the craft, fra Alexander Winchister, xlv lib quhilk is presentlie putt in ye box in presence of ye counsell of Craft.

Act for payment of William Dunkesoun last positor

Vpon the xxvii day of Maii, zeir foresaid [1600], James Alexander, present positor, is ordanit, with his avin consent, to satisfie, content, and pay to william dunkesoun, last positor, sex pundis as ye half of xii lib avand be ye craft to him, and yat with ye radiest sylver that ye said James sall gett in of ye craftis geir.

[13th September 1600]

Nomina Consilii

1 Johnne Myls, deakin
2 Johnne vylie
3 Johnne hwniman, eldar
4 dauid kynneir
5 george grig, the key of the letill buist[1]
6 duncan dunkesoun hes the key of the box
7 Alexander sharpe
8 William dunkesoun
9 James alexander, positor
10 Archbald lewingstoun, keipar of the vreittis box
11 Robert valker
12 William dunkesoun

Quha all in ane voice promittis, bindis, and obleiss thame to concur, fortifie and assist the deakin with yair counsell and assistance in all thingis concernyng ye glorie of god and veill of the craft, vndir the paine of periuratioun and violatioun of fayth, quhan ewir yai salbe Requyrit.

Act Annent the payment of knaship

Vpon the xxv day of Aprile, the zeir of god, Jaj Sax hundreth and ane zeiris, the deakin and breithrein being convenit vpon ye hill, It is voted and ordanit for ye veill of the haill breither of craft, that na brother of craft that gryndis at

[1] Old French, *boiste*, a box.

ony myln pay mair knaship nor ane straikit leipie[1] and ane halfe of flowre for ilk bag of quheit grinding, as vs and vont ves ewir of befoire, vndir the paine of xls be ye maister quhatsumewir.

Act aganis yame that takis in ony in ye craftis seate in ye kyrk.

The samyn day, It is Ordanit and aggreit vpon with consent of the haill breithrein of craft foresaid, That quhatsumewir brother of craft sall bring with him or cause ony of his acquaintance or nayd (?)[2] to thair dask and seat in ye kyrk vpon ane Sonday, except it be ane stranger, the Inbringer sall pay for ilk tyme he sall bring with him ony to sytt in ye said seate [sall] sax shillyngis aucht pennyis money onforgewin, except liceance and leife askit and gottin of the deakin, and quha Iniuris ye officiar for nocht latting in ony in ye said seat to pay ye said vnlaw of vis viiid.[3]

Act for payment to James Alexander last positor

Vpon the xvi day of Junii, the zeir of god, Jaj Sax hundreth and ane zeiris, Eftir James Alexander, last positor,

[1] A 'strakkit' measure was one where the grains were kept level with the rim of the vessel which was used for measuring, and was the opposite of a liberal quantity heaped up above the top of the vessel. The *straik*, *strake*, or *straiker* was the piece of wood which was used for levelling the grain, salt, or other commodity. One of the utensils which the master-meters or measurers at Queen Hythe had to provide themselves with, was a 'strike,' for levelling the grain and salt in the various measuring vessels, and from this came the term of 'strike measure.' In the thirteenth century *Statuta Pistorum*, it was provided that 'the measure with which toll is taken shall be according to the measure of the lord the King, and it shall be taken razed or striked and without any upheap piled upon it.' In an Act of Charles II. for ascertaining the measures of corn and salt, the Winchester Bushel is adopted as the standard; the Winchester Bushel was to contain 'eight gallons to the bushel, and no more or less, and the said bushel strucken even by the wood or brim of the same by the seller.'

[2] This part of the entry has been cut off.

[3] The exemption of strangers from the operation of this resolution was a hospitable act, and shows that the measure was directed against a systematic abuse. We have seen that one of the duties of the officer of the Hammermen was to preserve order in the Craft's seat, and the same duty is here placed upon the shoulders of the bakers' functionary. It does not appear to have been effective, for the prohibition was renewed upon 29th March 1608, and the exemption was again extended to any unknown stranger from any other burgh town. The restriction of the hospitality to burghers of other towns is curious. The obligation is removed at the later date from the officer and only a fine is imposed.

hed gewin in his Conptis, and the craft being found awand in to him the sowme of fyve pundis, thre s iiiid, quhilk yai ordane James Duncan, present positor, to pay ye said James ye saïd sowme with ye radiest of ye silver that cummes in of the craftis geir.

Johnne Myls deakin and the breither sworne obedience to him

Vpon the xix day of September, The zeir of god, Jaj sax hundreth and ane zeiris [Johnne Myls] being chosen and electit deakin, vpon the day of the electioun, being absent for the tyme, now acceptis and takes vpon him ye said office of deaknarie And maid his aith for leill and trew administratioun of his office for yis zeir nixtocum And the haill breither being present hes sworne and maid yair aithis be vphalding of yair handis to giffe obedience to the said deakin in his tyme, and to concur and assist him in all thingis lesum concernyng the veilfair of the craft and gude ordour yairof.

Nomina Consilii

1 Johnne myls, deakin
2 James duncan, positor
3 Duncan dunkesoun, ye key of the box
4 James alexander
5 Alexander sharpe
6 Johnne hwniman, eldar, the key of the letill box
7 Dauid kynneir, eldar
8 Robert valkar
9 Archbald lewingstoun, ye key of the vrettis
10 William dunkesoun
11 Johnne grig

Aganis Johnne lewingstoun

The quhilk day, Johnne lewingstoun, being convict for syndrie dissobedience to the deakin, Is ordanit before he is sufferit to baik ony to ask Johnne myls, present deakin, forgifnes and to pay xl shillingis vnlaw for his said oft dissobedience to ye said deakin.

[11th September 1602.]

Counsaile

1 Johnne Myls, deakin
2 Duncan Dunkesoun, the key of the box
3 Johnne hwniman
4 Archbald Lewingstoun, the key of the vreittis
5 Alexander sharpe
6 Dauid kynneir

7 Robert valkar
8 Johnne grig
9 James duncan
10 James alexander
11 William dunkesoun

Act for payment of ye vnlaw awand in William Leirmonthis

Vpon ye xxv day of Junii, Jaj sax hundrethe and thrie zeiris, Androw lewingstoun, positor for the present, is ordanit to pay to ye last positouris iii lib To pay the vnlaw awand in William Leirmonthis.

For payment to Johnne greig

Item siclyk that ye said androw lewingstoun, positor, pay & satisfie Johnne grig, fyftye foure s iid, of auld dett awand be the craft to him quhan he ves positor.

[10th September 1603.]

Nomina Consilii

1 Duncan dunkesoun, deakin
2 Androw Lewingstoun, positor
3 Johnne Myls
4 Archbald lewingstoun
5 Johnne hwniman, keipar of ye key of ye vreittis
6 Alexander sharpe, keipar of ye key of ye box
7 Robert valkar
8 James duncan
9 James alexander
10 Dauid kynneir

Act Aganis the baikaris of vastellis to tawernars or browstar to sell agane.

Vpon the thrid day of Marche, The zeir of god, Jaj sax hundrethe and foure zeiris. It is statute, concludit, and aggreit vpon be ye haill breither of craft, That naine fra this tyme furthe sall baik ony vastellis[1] or caikes to be cuttit in

[1] Jamieson gives wastell two meanings (1) Bread used with the wastell or wassail bowl; (2) A thin cake of oatmeal baked with yeast, Moray. The derivation is from the French *gasteau*. The first definition suggests quite a different derivation. The latter derivation is generally accepted as the correct one. In Toulmin Smith's *English Gilds* (Early English Text Society) another ingenious, though scarcely feasible, derivation is suggested. In the Guild of St. John Baptist, West Lynn, the Dean was to spend a halfpenny gathered from each brother and sister 'and by wyht-al breed, and gyue hit for ye soule.' A marginal note renders wyht-al as wastel, although it is more likely to have meant all white or all wheat. In a footnote the author says 'the bread so bought is to be 'wyht-all' or 'wastel' bread, that is, bread 'white and well baked.' In other words, the dole to the poor shall be of eatable bread of the best quality, and not 'cocket' (seconds) or 'simnel' (twice baked) bread. The word 'wastel' is no doubt (by the very common transposition of the 's') the Old Northern 'veitsla' (feast), the wastel bread being what should always be given to guests.' In *Liber Albus* wastel bread is given as the standard

four quarteris, nathir to tawern, nor browsters howss, nor hoistlaris, vndir the paine of XLS, except it be to honest nytbouris or burgess, to ane honestie or to seik folk, and na vayis the hostlar to tak sylver for yame.[1]

The Names of the breitherein In the zeir of god, Jaj vi^{c} and thrie zeiris.

This roll ves maid vpon ye 24 Junii 1619.[2]

1 Johnne Myls, deakin	1 Johnne myllss, deakin
2 Dauid pitcairne	2 Dauid pitcairne
3 Androw dunkesoun	3 Androw dunkesone
4 Johnne buchanan	4 Johnne Buchanan
5 Thomas grig	5 Duncan Dunkesone
6 Duncan dunkesoun	6 Dauid Russell
7 James duncan	7 James Alexander
8 Dauid Dewar	8 Alexander sharpe
9 Dauid kynneir, zounger	9 Dauid tailzour
10 Dauid Russell	10 patrik arthour
11 James Alexander	11 Johnne valkar
12 Alexander sharpe	12 Alexander thomsone

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which 'poufe, puffe,' or light bread was to equal in fineness and weight, and Riley describes it as bread of second quality. In 1588 the Town Council of Aberdeen ordered that the baking of 'wastellis' be discontinued, in conformity to old acts upon the subject. Nearly a century before that, in 1497, the Town Council of Dunfermline officially countenanced their use by ordering that 'ye pace (weight) of bred be 15 unsis the wastell.' The name, at any rate, whatever it represented, was long used in Scotland. In Aberdeen, in 1672, boys were forbidden to bake rolls, biscuits, and wastalls for their own use, to sell through the town; it is possible that in this instance the use of the word had a general meaning, and was synonymous with cakes. In Dundee, in 1697, no unfree boy was to be allowed in the trade who could work any 'semill, or wastill or pis of beakin meat.' But it makes its appearance long after that date, for in an account of Mr Gib, Master of the Household to Prince Charles Stuart, from Thomas Fraser, Pastry Cook, there is an entry on 18th March 1746, 'To shortbread on caike, and 2 Wesstells, 4s. 6d.' Shortbread is not mentioned in the St. Andrews MSS. until 1820.

[1] Innkeepers desired to draw a distinction between themselves and hostelers. In 1473 the men of the Mystery of Innholders of London petitioned that in all future documents and practice they should not be improperly called Hostelers, as these were truly their servants. The ostler of the posting or wayside inn is a descendant of the innholder's servant.

[2] This remark evidently applies to the roll on the right.

13 William staig
14 Dauid tailzour
15 Patrik Arthour
16 Johnne Walkar
17 Alexander thomsone
18 James thomsoun
19 Archbald lewingstoun
20 William dunkesoun
21 Johnne lewingstoun
22 Androw lewingstoun
23 Robert Walkar [deleted]
24 William hwniman
25 Johnne greig
26 Dauid myls
27 george Small
28 Alexander mortoun
29 Johnne hwnman, zounger
30 Johnne hwnman, eldar
31 James Brown
32 Dauid kynneir, eldar
33 Johnne Norye
34 William peblis
35 Androw Scott
36 Robert valkar
37 Androw hwniman
38 James dunkesone
39 george moffatt

13 Jonnne lewingstoun
14 William hwniman
15 Dauid myls
16 george small
17 Alexander mortoun
18 James brown
19 Johnne Norye
20 Robert Walkar
21 Androw hwniman
22 George moffat
23 James dunkesoun
24 Relict Johnne hwniman, eldar
25 Relict Johnne hwniman, zounger
26 Relict Johnne greig
27 Relict James duncan
28 Relict Robert valkar
29 Relict Androw lewingstoun
30 William pitcarne

Act Aganis Dauid Russell

Vpon the Penult day of Junii, the zeir of god, Jaj sax hundrethe and four zeiris, the breithrein vpon counsell being convenit to tak ordour annent the complaint offerit vp be duncan dunkesoun, deakin, aganis dauid Russell The Iniureis done be ye said dauid to ye deakin being verifeit, Thai ordane & decernis that said dauid or ony vthir sall offend or Iniure the said deakin or ony vthir deakin heireftir to pay ten lib money, conforme to ye actis maid of before annent sic vrangis.

[15th September 1604.]

Nomina Consilii

1 Duncan dunkesoun, deakin
2 James duncan, positor
3 Johnne myls
4 Archbald lewingstoun
5 Alexander sharpe
6 Robert valker
7 Johnie hwnman, eldar
8 Johnie greig
9 dauid myls
10 dauid kynnar, eldar
11 James Alexander

[20th February 1606.]

Act annent the taikyng in of service men

The samyn day, It is statut, concludit, & ordanit, with consent of ye deakin and counsell of craft, that na furissar of baik hous ressave ony service man to giffe him service vnto the tyme [the tyme] the service man satisfie the deakin & counsell for the tyme XLs conforme to yair decreitt and ordour & vs of vthir craftis.

Act aganis thame quha sall baik to ony man cuttit biskett or baikis of yair awin stuffe

Vpon the Aucht day of Julii, the zeir of god, Jaj vj^{c} and sax zeiris, The deakin, duncan dunkesoun, with ye haill breithrein of craft, being convenit togidder Annent the vrang menit be Dauid Leirmonthe, tymmerman,[1] to caws ane brother [to caus ane brother] baik baikis and cuttit biskett of the quheit and Rye quhilk he coift him selfe, Aganis ye actis libertie of craft, It is statute that na brother of craft heireftir tak vpon hand to baik, to the said dauid or ony vthir, ony cuttit biskett or baikis of yair awin stuffe, vndir the paine of ten li.

[13th September 1606.]

Nomina Consilii

1 Johnne Myls, deakin
2 James duncan, positor
3 duncan dunkesoun
4 Archbald lewingstoun
5 Johnne hwniman, eldar
6 Alexander sharpe
Androw dunkesoun
James Alexander
Robert valkar
Dauid kynneir, eldar

Keiparis of ye keyis of the box, Duncan dunkesoun, Alexander sharpe, Johne hwniman

[1] Carpenter.

[12th September 1607.]

Nomina Consilii.

Johnne Myls, deakin
Duncan dunkesoun
Androw lewingstoun, positor, key of ye box
Archbald lewingstoun
Alexander Sharpe, keipar of the kyis of the box
Johnne hwniman, key of the box
Dauid kynneir, eldar
James Duncan
Robert valkar
James alexander

Vpon ye xxix Day of Marche, the zeir of god, Jaj vj^{c} and awcht zeiris, The deakin, Johnne myls, with the breithrein vpon counsell of craft, being convenit, It is statute and ordanit that Na brother of craft tak in yair seat in ye kyrk vpon ye sabboth day ony ny^{t}bour of ye town or landvart, except it be ane vnknawn strenger of ony vthir burrow toun onkend in ye kyrk, vndir the paine of ten shillyngis money, to be payit, toties quoties, be the transgressouris of this act.

Vpon ye tent Day of September, Jaj vj^{c} and awcht zeiris, Eftir Johnne myls, last deakin, hed dimittit his office, Duncan dunkensone, be pluralitie of votes, is electit and chosen deakin for this zeir to cum And maid his aithe as vs is And ye haill breithrein of craft band and obleist yame to giffe obedience and Reverence to ye said deakin and to heire nor see na thing to ye hurt and preiudice of the craft or ony brother yairof.

The Names of ye Counsell.

Duncan dunkesone, deakin
Androw dunkesone, positor
Johnne Myls
Archbald lewingstoun
Androw lewingstoun
Alexander sharpe
Robert lewingstoun
James Alexander
James duncan

Act agains Dauid Russell

Vpon the xiii day of October, zeir aboue vrettin, the deakin, duncan dunkesoun, and counsell of craft, being convenit to tak ordour annent the vrang done be dauid Russell

for handling and vsyng bying and selling with strangris owtland men nocht being baxteris, nocht advertisyng the deakin to the great hurt of the breither of craft, yai ordaine and decernis the said dauid to pay for this present offence iii lib., And for ye avoyding of the lyk In tyme to cum, Thai all, in ane voice, statutis, concludis, and ordanis that gif athir ye said dauid Russell or ony vthir brother quhatsumewir of the craft, sall do the lyk or vses ony mellyng[1] sellying or bying withe ony strengar owtland man quha is nocht ane baxter, and vses baikyng and adverteises nocht the deakin & counsell for the tyme, Sall pay ten pundis money ilk tyme yai salbe tryit to do the same.

[On margin :—'or hantis or vses yair companye'—possibly to be inserted after baxter—there is no mark to show.]

Act Aganis eat bread beakaris

Vpon the xxi day of November, Jaj vj^{c} and awcht zeiris, duncan dunkesoun being deakin, In presence of the haill breithrein being convenit, It is statut and ordanit that withe thair haill consentis [that] quhatsumewir brother of craft sall baik eat bread heireftir, except it be of cleane eat meill, onmixit with ony vthir stuffe, sall pay iiii li money ilk tyme yai salbe found to do the lyk.

Act aganis yame that settis vp meate in yair howss

Vpon ye xxiii Day of december, Jaj vj^{c} and awcht zeiris, Duncan dunkesoun being deakin, In presence of the counsell, withe advys and consent of the haill breither of craft, It is statute, concludit, and ordanit that na brother of craft yat ventis aile[2] tak vpon hand till sett vp meat owtwith yair bwithe or ye baik hous, vndir the paine of thrie pundis money, and that to [be] payit onforgewin In respect that ony open tavernar of our craft suld haife sett vp meat in yair howss and in speciall in yair hall and yat to the effect na strangeris nor ony vthir resortyng to ye hous see the handlyng bot yai that awcht the meate onlie.

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[1] Dealing.
[2] Sells ale.

[15th June 1609.]

The samyn day, William peblis, for Androw huniman, is enterit and Ressawit officiar to serve ye craft for this zeir tocum and mad his aithe as vs is. And Immediatlie eftir ye said Androw [Dunkeson] ves electit and chosen positor, as said is, he and duncan dunkesone, his fayer, present deakin, cawsit me, notar vndir vrettin, yair clark, Reid and openlie publishe to ye haill breither of craft vpon ye hill, ye haill actis in ye bewk, to ye effect na brother of craft at ony tyme heireftir being accusit for transgressyng ony act in ye bewk pretend ony ignorance; quharvpon ye said positor askit document fra me, notar vndir vrettin.[1]

William peblis officiar

Act annent the Reiding of ye actis In presence of ye breither

Ita est Magister Magnus arthurus notarius scripsit.

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[1] It would almost appear from the above statement that all the acts under which the trade was operating were engrossed in the books in some convenient form, otherwise the clerk would not appreciate the punctility of the office-bearers. It was very essential, at a time when there were few scholars and little printing, that the constitution and regulations of a body should be frequently read, and it is somewhat surprising that there is only this single reference to it having been done in St. Andrews. At the first of the quarterly Hallmotes of the London bakers, they were summoned to recall to mind the City ordinances that were applicable to bakers, and the old custom of reading the rules is still kept up by the Bakers' Company. One of the rules of the Guild of the Resurrection of Our Lord, Lincoln, which was founded in 1374, was 'while the bretheren and sisteren are sitting at table, the ordinances shall be read over, so that they may be well understood, and that no one may, at any time, be able to say that he has broken, unwittingly, any of the articles which all have thus heard, and to which all have bound themselves.' There is a curious law in the Black Book of Coventry against uncleanness of servants, which was read twice a year, so that employers might have no excuse for not knowing it, and also, no doubt, to impress its importance upon them. It is one of the most curious in the annals of the trade, both in its phraseology and provisions, and it may, therefore, be of interest to give it here: 'Agaynst unclenlynes of servanntes, Fyrst, it is ordered and agreed by the wholle fellowshippe of the Bakers in the cytie of Coventre, that no persone or persones of the same fellowshippe shall set on worke any servannte or servanntes whiche are or shalbe at any tyme infected with scabbes, or any other owtward sores; or which are detected of whoredome, or comon Dronkards, to make any manner of Dowe, of whyte wheaton or Rye, for so longe tyme as they be so infected, and detected, and not reformed, upon payne to forfayte and paye to the masters of the fellowship for the tyme beynge, for every offence (beynge warned thereof by hearinge this rule readde twice in the yere) 3s. 4d. to thuse of the fellowshipp.' The millers, bakers, bread examiners, and corn measurers of Würtemberg had to meet together, under an ordinance of 24th July 1620,

Act annent the Ressawyng of feit men

Vpon the xxii day of August, the zeir of god, Jaj vj^{c} and Nyne zeiris, duncan dunkesoun, deakin, withe ye haill counsell of craft, being convenit togidder vpon ye hill, It is voted and decernit withe yair haill consentis yat na broyer of craft tak vpon hand to tak in na manis sone within ye town or owtland manis sone, feitman[1] to him, except it be ane broyeris sone, without yai first come to ye deakin & counsell, and shaw yame vndir the paine of xls. And the feit man to pay to ye deakin & counsell of craft for his ressaitt, iiii li money.

Act aganis Dauid Russell

The samyn day, Dauid Russell being accusit and complanit vpon be dauid kynneir, eldar, for stryking his sonne vpon monenday last ves in ye mornyng, quhilk the said dauid Russell acknawling and confessyng to be of veritie, Submittis him selfe freilie to ye deakin, duncan dunkesoun, and breithrein vpon counsell, quha, veihing the grauitie of the said offence, All in ane voice ordanis and decernis ye said Dauid Russell to pay instantlie for ye said offence the sowme of xls money And gif ewir it salbe fund or tryit that ye said dauid sall stryk or dyng ony freiman or brother of craft or brotheris sone ordanis him to pay ten pundis money ilk tyme and als oft as he salbe fund to do the same. And siclyk ordanis and decernis ye said Dauid [being] russell being convict for transgressyng the actis in ye bewk in takyng and feing ane servand nocht advertisyng the deakin yairof to pay presentlie siclyk xls money. And last ordanis and decernis ye said dauid Russell to pay instantlie siclyk vthir xls for sufferyng his vyfe to help Alexander vinchisteris vyfe to baik and sett vp meat in yair baik hous within yair duellyng hous; he knawyng of ye same being aganis ye ordour of craft.

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and receive their annual financial statement and hear their rules read. When a newly-admitted member was recognised as a Munich baker, the rules of the trade were read over to him, that he might know how to conduct himself, and the laws controlling the masters, journeymen, and apprentices, dated 1st September 1778, had to be read over at least twice a year. The journeymen of Munich, who formed a very celebrated body, had an organisation of their own, and they had to hear their rules read at least twice a year.

[1] A worker engaged or feed for a year.

[9th September 1609.]

Nomina Consilii.

Johnne myls, deakin
Androw dunkesoun, positor
duncan dunkesoun, ane key
James Alexander
Alexander scharpe, ane key
Archbald lewingstoun, ane key
James duncan
patrick arthour
dauid Russell
Robert valkar
dauid kynneir, eldar

Act aganis yame quha byis quhyit and gryndis it to sell in flowre agane

Vpon ye tent day of october, the zeir of god, Jaj vj^{c} and Nyne zeiris, Johnne Myllis being deakin, convenit his Consell vpon ye gallow hill as ws, vpon ane complaint offerit vp aganis Johnne hwniman for transgressyng gude ordour in bying of quheit and grynding it in flowre, sellyng it in Roiche flowre aganis all gude ordour of craft, The breither all in ane voice convictis him, in ane vnlaw of fourtye shillyngis, And the said Johnne obleises him yat in caice ewir he grynd quheit to sell flowre athir in yis town or ony vthir town sall pay ten pundis money, And in cais ony brother in ye craft sall transgres in yat same fault to pay sa oft as yai trangres ye said sowme of ten libis.

[15th September 1610.]

The Names of the counsell.

Johnne myllis, deakin
Johnne levingstoun, positor
key of ye box, duncan dunkesone
key of ye box, James alexander
alexander sharpe
key of ye vreittis, Archbald lewingstoun
Androw dunkesone
James duncan
dauid kynneir, eldar
dauid Russell

Jon valkaris Band

Vpon the tent Day of Aprile, The zeir of god, Jajvj^{c} and allewin zeiris, the deakin, Johnne myls, and his breithrein vpon counsaile, being convenit to tak in Robert valker, lawchfull second sonne to vmquhill robert valkar, brother amongis thame, And becaws the said robert is tane in for the dewitie of ane eldest brotheris sonne Thairfore Johnne valkar, his eldest brother, bindis and obleiss him that gif it sall happin him to cum in to be frie amongis yame at ony tyme

tocum, To entir him selffe as ane second brotheris sonne, To pay to the craft the dewitie of ane second brotheris sonne.

[10th April 1611.]

Act aganis Dauid kynneir zounger

The samyn day, dauid kynneir, zounger, Is ordanit for vrang and offence done be him to the deakin and cuttyng his veycht brod streingis before he gett service in ony hous be ony broyer To pay XLS for his said offence and to crawe the said deakin pardon and forgifenes for his said vrang.[1]

[14th September 1611.]

The Names of ye counsell.

1 Johnne Myls, deakin
2 Johnne lewingstoun, positor
3 duncan dunkesone, to convene with ye varnare[2]
4 Androw dunkesone, To convene vithe ye varnar
5 James duncan
6 James brown
7 Alexander sharpe, To convene vith ye deakin before ye varnare
8 Dauid Russell
9 Johnne hwniman
10 Dauid kynneir
11 James alexander, To convene with ye deakin before ye varnare

Keiparis of ye keyis of ye keist, alexander sharpe

Keiparis of ye key of the box, Johnne lewingstoun, Androw dunkesone

Act aganis Alexander thomsoun

Vpoun ye Nynt day off September, Jajvj^{c} and twelffe zeiris, The deakin, Johnne myls, and breithrein vpon counsall of craft, To tak ordour [with] annent the offence done be Alexander thomsoun to the said deakin in Iniuryng him openlie in ye common corne merkatt vpon monenday last, The said alexander confess his said offence and is teane in ye vyll of the said deakin and counsell, Quha ordanis and decernis him

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[1] The punishment was inflicted for wilful damage done to a utensil kept in the bakehouse for the winnowing of corn. The 'wecht' or weight was in the form of a holeless seive. It probably hung in some convenient place, or it may have been attached to something to assist in the oscillation, and it might be the strings by which it was hung that were wantonly cut.

[2] The number of officials is extraordinary, and does not occur often again. The number of those to convene with the Deacon-Convener is surprising.

to pay instantlie xLs for yis present offence, And to crave ye said deakin forgiffnes, And [gif] obleiss him selffe that gif ewir he happin to offend ye said deakin or ony vthir be vord or deid to pay ten libis conforme to ane former act in ye bewk.

[12th September 1612].

The Names off the breithrein vpon counsell

Johnne myls, deakin
Johnne hwniman, positor

To convene with ye varnare,
James duncan
Dauid Russell

duncan dunkesone
Androw dunkesone

James Alexander
James brown, to convene with ye varnare
Johnne lewingstoun
Johnne buchanan
Alexander sharpe, to convene with ye varnare
Alexander mortoun

Act aganis Johnne hwniman and James brown

Vpon the xx Day of September, Jajvj^{c} and xii zeiris, Johnne Myls, deakin, with the haill breithrein vpon counsell, being convenit togidder To advyse annent gude ordour and mentenyng of quietnes and brotherlie love amongis the breither heireftir In the quheit merkatt and for avoyding of trubill amongis yame heir eftir vpon ony merkat day be vorde or deid. And Johnne hwniman, present positor, and James brown being accusit and convict for offendyng and trubling vtheris in ye quheit merkatt this monenday last, Thairfore it is statut and ordanit be the said deakin and breithrein vpon counsell of craft, That gif it salbe fund or tryit athir of the saidis pairteis to molest, offend, or Iniure vtheris be vorde or deid, in ony companye and in speciall in ye corne merkatt, To pay foure pundis money, to be applyit to quhat vs the deakin and counsell off craft for ye tyme sall think expedient.

Act aganis Dauid Russell

Vpon ye thrid day of october, Jajvj^{c} xii zeiris, dauid Russell being quarrellit be ye deakin, Johnne myls, and breithrein vpon counsell of craft, for allegit aggreing with Johnne downye, for James downye, his sone, to haife bene

prenteis with him, Quha being solemnitlie sworne be his great aithes yairwpon gif ye samyn ves of veritie or nocht deponit vpon his conscience yat yair ves newir vreitt nor aggriement betuix him and ye saidis Johnne or James downye. And ye said dauid is decernit with his consent that gif it salbe fund or tryit that yair hes bene ony vreitt or ony vthir aggriement betuix him and Johnne downye or his sone To pay fourtye pundis money to the veilfair of the craft.

Act aganis William vylsoun zounger

Vpon ye xxiii Day of october, ye zeir of god, abowe vrettin, Johnne myls, deakin, and counsell of craft, being convenit vpon ye hill, To tak ordour with ye complaint offerit vp be alexander mortoun aganis William vylsoun, zonger, for Iniuryng his vyffe, The samyn complaint confessit be the defendar to be of veritie, The said deakin and counsell for repressyng the lyk offence to be done hereftir, ordanis and decernis that gif ewir the said William sall molest, blaspheme, or Iniure or offend ony brother of craft or freimanis vyffe of ye craft to be dischargeit fra gettyng ony service in ony baikhous in St androus.

[11th September 1613.]

Counsell.

1 Johnne myls, deakin
2 Johnne hwniman, positor
3 Androw dunkesone
4 alexander sharpe
5 alexander mortoun
6 Duncan Dunkesone
7 James Duncan
8 Dauid Russell
9 James brown
10 James alexander
11 Johnne buchannan
12 Johnne lewingstoun

Alexander sharpe, keipar of the key of the keist

Keiparis of ye keyis of the box, Androw dunkesoun, Johnne lewingstoun

Act aganis thame quha previs nocht yair complaint

Vpon ye xiii day of September, zeir foresaid [1613], the deakin Johnne myls, and haill Remanent breithrein of craft, being convenit vpon ye hill, Statutis, ordanis, and decernis that quhatsumewir brother sall offir vp ane complaint vpon ane vthir and proves nocht his complaint Sall

pay the vnleis ye pairte complanit vpon suld pay gif ye complaint ves trew.

Vpon ye Second day off october, zeir abowe vrettin, The deakin, Johnne myllis, and counsell of craft, being convenit To tak ordour with Johnne norye & allan murray for transgressyng the ordour of craft and vrang done be yame in dauid Russellis baikhous for takying furthe yairof (?) vastell cuttit corn of ye dore (?)[1] and makyng twa of ane quhilk ves confessit be yame all The said deakin and counsell foresaid findyng the saidis persones to have done ane ennormous fault and cryme, Ordanis and decernis the said Johnne norye and allan murray to pay for this present offence xLs ilk ane of yame, and siclyk ordanis and decernis yat gif athir of yame or ony vthir sall do the lyk offence heireftir To be deprywit of all service within ye bowndis of this citie.

Act annent the dewitie of prenteises that cummes in to be freimen

Vpon the xxiiii day of maii, Jajvj^{c} xiii zeiris, Johnne Myls, deakin, In presence of the haill breithrein of craft, being convenit vpon ye hill concernyng and annent the desyre of James brown desyring to ressave ane prenteis, thai all in voice hes concludit, statut, and ordanit with yair haill consentis, that na prenteis of outlawris, except he be ane broyer sone, salbe ressawit freiman to ye craft for na les nor ane hundrethe pundis money to the craft for his fredome conforme to the ordour of thir craftis.

[3rd December 1613.]

I, William Dunkesone, lawchfull eldest sone of vmquhill William Dunkesone, baxter citiner of St androis, fforsamekill as James Dunkesone, my Immediat zounger brother, is to entir freiman to the libertye of the baxter craft in St androis, Thairfore I, the said villiam Dunkesone, be thir presentis freilie Renunces and owergiffis all rycht and title I may pretend as eldest sone to my said vmquhill father gif it sall happin me to entir and come in to be freiman to the said craft In fawouris of the said James Dunkesone, my zounger

[1] This part is written in poor ink and almost faded.

brother foresaid, And obleiss me faytfullie quhan ewir I sall cume to be freiman to the craft, To entir my selffe as ane brotheris second sonne, and to pay and satisfie the craft conforme to the dewitie of ane brotheris second sonne.

Villam Dunkesone.

The dewitie payit be thomas dyksoun zounger prenteis to Alexander Sharpe

Vpon the Sext day off December, Jajvj^{c} xiii zeiris abowe vrettin, The said thomas dyksone payit to the deakin, Johnne myls, for the tyme, withe some of his counsell, for his speakyng drynk thrie lib money, thaireftir before his in bewkyng, he payit to the said deakin and his haill counsaile, tuentie ane merkis for ane dinner to the breithreine vpon counsaile,[1] And at the payment yairoff the said thomas payit siclyk ane quart of vine as iust dewitie of and appertenyng to the deakin.

Act annent the allowyng to the present positor of the sylver debursit be him

Vpon the xxv day of Junii, ye zeir of god, at the hearyng of the last zeiris comptis debursit be the new positor for paying ye auld positor, iii li vi s iiii d, quhilk the craft ordanis to be payit to James brown, present positor, and allowit to him in ye first end of his comptis.

[10th September 1614.]

Nomina Consilii.

ye keipar of the vreittis box	1 Androw Dunkesone, deakin	6 Alexander Sharpe 7 Alexander mortoun

[1] The Council probably acted as examiners of the work of the entrant. At one time the new craftsman had to provide a dinner of moderate dimensions to the whole craft, but the substitution of one to the council was a modification that commended itself to the economical. At a later date even this modest repast and the time-honoured wine to the deacon were dispensed with so that money should not be extravagantly expended. In 1704 the bakers of Eisenach had to provide, on entry, a meal into which the assay or trial goods entered, along with cheese, bread, rolls, and cakes, but the cost was limited to six thalers, so that it might not fall too heavily on the new master, and wives and children were not to be invited. He had the choice of giving the goods (in natura) or paying the six thalers. In Munich the old custom was for the applicant to provide a supper for the four masters who examined his work, but afterwards he had to give one gulden to the four in good friendship. In Ingolstadt the officials had to wait until the bread was ready and laid on the table, and wine had to be provided with it. Here also the examiners were entertained to dinner, and each went away with a gulden in his hand.

2 James brown, positor
3 Johnne Myls
The keiparis of 4 Duncan Dunkesone
the Sylveris box 5 Johnne lewingstoun
8 David Russell
9 Johnne buchannan
10 patrik arthour
11 androw hwniman

Thomas powtye enterit prenteis to James brown

Wpon the fourt day off Maii, the zeir of god, Jajvj^{c} and xv zeiris, In presence of Androw Dunkesone, deakin, with ye maist pairt of ye counsell, Thomas powtye, Sonne Lawchfull to Mr thomas powtye, minister at leslie, Is Enterit and becum inbewkit prenteis to James brown, present positor, to the craft and satisfeit and payit to the deakin and counsell of craft for his speakyng drynk thrie li and for ane dinner to yame xxi merkis, with ane quart of vine as Just dewitie pertenyng of auld to the deakin and siclyk, xxx s to the box as vs is.

Johne mylls, counsellor
Alexander scharpe, counsall
James broune, positor

[9th September 1615.]

Nomina Consilii.

Androw Dunkesone, deakin
Alexander mortoun, positor
Johnne myls
Duncan Dunkesoun
James brown
Alexander sharpe
patrik arthour
Dauid Russell
Johnne buchannan
Johnne lewingstoun
Dauid pitcairne
androw hwniman

[9th September 1616.]

Nomina Consilii.

Androw duncansone, deacon
Androw hynneman, positour
Johne myllis
Alexander mortoun
Alexander schairp
Patrik Arthour
Dauid Russell
Johne bucchannan
Johne levingstone
Dauid pitcairne

[13th September 1617.]

Counsell.

Johne mylis
alexander sharpe
Dauid pitcarne
Robert valkar

Andrew hwniman — Dauid russell
Alexander myrtoun — Johne levingstoun

[11th September 1619.]

Nomina Consilii.

Andrew duncansoun — Johne Levingstoun
Andrew huniman — Dauid Pitcarne
Alexander scharpe — Dauid Russell
Alexander mortoun — alexander scharpe
Robert Walkar

Keipar of ye kayis of ye box, andrew honiman
Kepar of ye key of ye vritis kist, Andrew duncansoun

Ane ordinance concerning ye Morth Claith

Vpoun ye xi day of september 1619, It is Concludit & ordanit be Johne mylis, deacon, with Consent of ye Counsell, That at na tyme heireftir The mort claith perteining to ye Craft be lent to ony persone ather within ye toun or without ye samin, except he be a brother and member of ye Craft, vntill ye tyme yai pay to ye vse of ye craft xxs money, and Incase ye deacon sall lend ye samin but[1] advyse & Consent of four of ye Counsell he sall pay also xxs.[2]

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[1] Without.

[2] Mortcloths sometimes belonged to the town, sometimes to the Church, and sometimes to the trades. Even when they belonged to municipalities there was a difficulty in regulating and enforcing payment. In Aberdeen, 5th January 1642, 'the prowest, baillies, and councell vnderstanding that the dueties payable for the tounes mortcloathes ar not dewlie nor tymeouslie payed by theise who seikis the wse thairof at buriall, be reason the said mortclothes ar given furth befoir payment be receavit for the same, whairthrow delayis is maid of payment, and petitiones given in to the counsall for dischargis, for remeid whairof it is ordanit that the thesaurar shall not giue furth any of the saids mort cloathis to any whatsumeuer within or without burgh, till he receave present payment in hand, at the least ane sufficient pledge for the same, conforme to the former ordinance maid thairanent.' The importance, as well as a description of a mortcloth, may be estimated from a minute of the Peebles Town Council of 10th May 1630, 'The quhilk day, compeirit James Williamsone burges and ane of the counsellouris of the burgh of Peblis, in name and behalf of Robert Horsbruik sone laufull to vmquhile Alexander Horsbruik of that ilk and burges of Edinburgh, and declairit that the said Robert tendering the further supplie of the pure of the parochin of Peblis had out of his awin frie motive will doittit dedicattit and mortifeit vnto the said burgh of Peblis and sessioun thairof ane mortclayth, being of fyne black claith lynit throw with blak buckasie and compassit round about with ane blak silk frenzie in the bordouris

[9th September 1620.]

Nomina Consilii.

Johne mylis	Andrev duncansoun
Alexander mortoun	Johne Levingstoun
Robert valkar, positour	dauid pitcarne

keiparis of ye keyis:

Johne mylis, ane key of ye kist vith ye vritis

Andrev duncansoun and alexander mortoun, ye keyis of ye box

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thairof, quhilk he than exhibit and produceit in counsell befoir the proveist bailyeis and counsell of the said burgh, and desyrit that the samyn micht be kepit in all tyme cuming be the kirk thesaurar of the paroche kirk of Peblis and his successoris thesauraris thairof quha suld in thair names geve furth the samyn for decorment of all defunctis as he suld be requyrit, and that vpone ane competent pryce or dewtie thairfoir as the saidis proveist bailyeis counsell minister and sessioun of Peblis suld appoint and set doun, and the samyn moneyis to be distribute to the pure of the said burgh and parochin at the discretioun and directioun of the said counsell and sessioun; as lykwayis desyrit that gif the saidis counsell and sessioun suld happin to impose ane gritter sowme vpone the borrowaris of the said mortclaith for defunctis without burgh mair nor within the samyn, in that cace that they suld haif ane speciall regaird for mitigatioun to be grantit to the parochineris of Ettilstoun, Kailzeo, Menner and Lyne, for quhois vse and seruice vpone the said ressonabill mitigatioun he had speciallie giftit the samin nixt efter the said burgh and parochin of Peblis. And thairfoir the saidis proveist bailyeis and counsell efter dew deliberatioun and thanksgiving to God for so cristiane ane dispositioun towardis the pure anes of the said parochin, and without ony forder inquyrie of ony vther end or intentioun of the said dotatioun, they all in ane voce and be the tennour of this present act, ordanes that the said mortclaith sall in all tyme cuming remane in the custodie and keiping of the said kirk thesaurar of the said kirk and his successoris thesauraris thairof quha salbe actit to be comptable at all tymes to the saidis proveist bailyeis counsell and sessioun for the samyn; and that he sall at all tymes be reddie to deliuer the said mortclaith to ony persone that salhappin to requyre the samyn for the end and vse foirsaid upone the pryces respectiue vnderwrittin and in maner efter decydit, that is to say, that ilk borrowar thairof within burgh sall pay at the ressaving thairof the sowme of threttene schillingis four penneis, and forder according to thair chiritie and plesour; and ilk borrowar thairoff without burgh and within the parochin sall pay thairfoir tuentie schillingis, and forder at thair plesour and chiritie, and find cawtioun for deliuerie thairof vnharmit within the space of sex houris vnder the pane of ane hundreth pundis; and that ilk borrowar of the samyn within ony of the said foure parochins abonspecifeit sall pay at the ressaving thairof the sowme of threttie schillingis and forder at thair discretioun and find cawtioun actit in the toun court buikis for deliuerie of the samyn bak agane vnharmit within the space of xxiiij houris vnder the lyk pane of ane hundreth pundis; and that ilk borrowar thairof for ony defunct without the said four parochinis sall pay at the ressaving tharof fyve merkis money, and forder according the distance of the boundis and qualitie of the persones, and find

[15th September 1621.]

Nomina Consilii.

[Andrew Duncanson, Deacon]	Alexander mortoun
Andrev honiman	Patrik arthour
Johne mylis	Johne levingstoun
William Walkar	dauid pitcarne

admissio arthour ad libertatem

Vpoun ye xxviii day of Maii, 1622 zears, andrew duncansoun being deacon of ye baksters of S^{t} androis, william arthour, sone to patrik arthour, bakster, Is admittit & receauit as freman vith ye brethren of ye baksters Quha hes payit

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cawtioun as said is for deliuerie thairof bak agane vnharmit within the said space of tuentie four houris, vnder the said pane of ane hundreth pundis. And hes ordanit and ordanis that na privat persone quhatsumeuer ather to burgh or land buy or vse ony vther mortclaith heirefter, aither for thair awin vse or the vse of vtheris, bot onlie to vse the said mortclaith, ilk persone contravener vnder the pane of [blank]. And ordanes thir presentis to be publischit and preceptis to be direct heirvpoun gif neid beis.' In 1650 a turmoil of great bitterness raged round the mortcloth belonging to the Parish of Aberdour. The people thought that the prices charged for its use were too high. The tailors made a new one, and the Session, after a great deal of negotiation, managed to secure posession of it. They thought that the grumblers would require to capitulate, but the latter borrowed one from another parish. But the Kirk Session were masters of the situation, and ordered that no grave should be dug unless a promise were given that the parish mortcloth would be hired. At the funeral of Colonel Erskine, of Carnock, on 17th January 1743, in Greyfriars' Kirk, Edinburgh, one of the charges was 'To the Best Mortecloath, with Loups and Ribbons, £1 1 0.' Sir John Foulis, of Ravelston (who must have required one frequently to bury his wives), paid on 28th May 1690, 'to ye keepers of the mortcloath, 11^{lib} 12^{sh} 0,' and again, on 22nd February 1703, 'for the mortcloath w^{n} my dear wife was buried, 11 12 0.' The mortcloth filled a very important part in German baking guilds, and many very fine old examples are still in use. In Eisenach a regular scale of charges was adopted, but no money was to be taken from the relatives of any man, woman, or child who was buried belonging to the craft. A charge of 16 ggr. was put on for washing *der Leichentücher*, but it was never to be washed without cause. Another body which owned and let out mortcloths was the Incorporated Trades in certain places. In Dundee, on 2nd April 1612, 'the Dean and assessors commissioned the collector to buy a mortcloth of fyne thrie pylled black welwet, with als mony fine frenzies of fine black silk in Middleburgh, as will serve yairto vpon ye Gilds expenses,' and they promised to refund him the money expended. Each guild brother or merchant, who had it to the honour of his burial, had to pay three pounds for the loan of it. Here, as in St. Andrews, it could not be lent upon the responsibility of one, for the collector could not lend it for hire unless with he consent of the Dean of Guild.

speaking drink, sey drink, and Tuentie li, Conforme to ane act maid of befoir Insert In yis buik, and ye deacon & brethren ordanis yat quhatsumevir broyer sone, being his first sone, sall pay heirefter speakin drink & sey drink to ye deacon & Counsell and Tuentie li to be at ye distributioun of ye brethren.

Vpone ye xxvii day of Julii, 1622 zears, It is Concludit & ordanit be androw duncansoun, deacon, with Consent of his brethren, That at na tyme heirefter any broyer of craft baik ony Tua pennie Leavis within yis Ceitie vndir ye pane of x li vnforgevin.[1]

Vpone The Tuentie twa day of Maii, ye zear of god, Jai vj^{c} Tuentie Thre zearis, compeirit androw duncansone, deacon of ye baksteris of S^{t} androis, accompaneet With ye brethren of baksters, vpone Counsell of Craft for Takand ordour anent ane Complaint gevin In and producet be Thomas month aganis Johne Tailzeour, sone to dauid Tailzeour, bakster, and be ye said dauid for him self and takand ye burding on him for ye said Johne, his sone, for sindrie vrangis, Iniureis, and offences Committet be Ilk ane of ye saidis parteis aganis vyeris, and The said deacon and Counsell being Juges Competent In sic Caiss, and ye saidis parteis Submitting yame

[1] Twopenny loaves were very old forms in which bread was sold. On 1st February 1527-8 Edinburgh Town Council found that on the preceding 'Maiket-day' the price of wheat was twelve shillings the boll, and that therefore the bakers were to supply the lieges with eleven and a half ounces of well-baked and sufficiently-dried bread for a penny, and that they should make penny and twopenny bread. Aberdeen Council had passed a similar law on 8th October 1507, 'all baxteris sall have breid of quheit sufficient, gud and clene stuff, penny breid and tua penny breid.' Forty-two years after, 9th August 1549, other prices had crept in, for the Council ratified the making of penny and twopenny bread only, and debarred fourpenny bread; the twopenny bread was to be thirteen ounces in weight, and the penny bread seven ounces. No doubt the Aberdeen public would prefer to buy twice if they wanted twopenny bread and get the fourteen ounces. If the same rule held good at St. Andrews it is no wonder that the makers were desirous of stopping the sale of the twopenny loaves. London bakers in the time of Edward I. were bound to make two loaves for a penny and four loaves for a penny. Coventry bakers were not permitted to sell or utter table or household bread under the weight of a threepenny loaf.

selfes to yame, The said deacon, with Consent of his said Counsell, ordanis, statuts, and Concludis That If at ony Tyme heirefter The saidis Thomas month and Johne Tailzeour offend, Troubill, molest, or Iniure vyeris, ather be word or deid, In ony place or rowm quhatsoever They sall meit and Convene, That ye partie offendar pay To ye vse of ye Craft, Toties quoties,[1] Ten li mony vnforgevin, and Siclyke, If ony of ye saidis Thomas month and Johne Tailzeour offend, molest, troubill, or Iniure ony brother of Craft at ony Tyme heirefter, In ony maner of way, The partie offender to pay also to ye partie and broyer offendit x li.

Act aganis Alexander thomsone & Charles small.

Vpone ye ferd day of maii, 1624, The quhilk day, andrew duncansone, present deacon of ye baksteris of S^t androis, Being Convenit vpone ye Gallow hill for takand ordour vith charles small for ye filthie sclandering and evill report maid be him aganis ye said Androw Duncansone yis day within ye tolbuith In presence of ye provest, baillies, and ane great multitud of ye Inhabitantes of yis Ceitie, to ye great Indignitie and disgrace of ye said deacon, sayand oppinlie That he Cause poind[2] and punishe him and Alexander thomsoun, his gude father, for na vyer fault or offence Committit be yame bot for baiking of ane our mekill leaf, quhilkis Brethren vir present vithin ye saidis tolbuith and hard ye saidis vordis quhilk ye said Charles could na vayis proue nor verrifie, Thairfoir The haill brethren ordanis, statutis, and Concludis yat ye said charles mak ane Condigne amendes to ye said deacon for his sclanderous speechis, And to pay presentlie x lib, and Siclyke statutis and ordanis That If ever, at ony tyme heirefter, ony broyer of Craft sall sclandir, Calumniat, molest, offend, or Iniure ye deacon present or to Cum, In ony maner of vay to yair Indignitie, To pay ten lib toties quoties. And farder, ye haill brethren ratifeis and approuis ane band and act maid be alexander thomsone, concerning ye offending and Iniuring of ane deacon, and Convicts him presentlie In

[1] As much as for each time.

[2] Imprison.

payment of ten li and ordanis ye saidis charles and alexander to be simpliciter dischairget fra baiking vntill ye samin vnlawis be first payit.

[11th September 1625.]

Nomina Consilii.

[Andrew Duncanson, Deacon]
Johne mylis
alexander mortoun
andrev honyman
Johne levingstoun
George moffett
James broun
patrik arthour

[9th September 1626.]

Nomina Consilii.

[Andrew Honeyman, Deacon]
Johne mylis
Andrew duncansone
Alexander mortoun
Johne Levingstoun
George moffett
James broun
Andrew duncansone, keipars of ye kyis, Johne Levingstoun,
Alexander mortoun
Alexander mortoun, Johne levingstoun

Ane ordinance aganis maisteris baiking and Inputting of vyer personis daugh befoir ane fremanis daugh

Vpone The Tent day of aprile, Jaivj^{c} Tuentie sevin zearis, Compeirit andrew honyman, deacon of ye baksteris of S^{t} androis, accompaneit with his brethren vpone Counsell of craft, vpone ye Gallow hill, besyde ye said Ceitie, for Takand ordour with ane Complaint gevin in be Thomas Munth, bakster, aganis Jamis broun and patrik Walker, maisteris of ye said Jamis his baikhous, for weiting,[1] baiking, and Inputting of burges daugh within ye said James his oyen, befoir ye said thomas his daugh, It being reddie to haue bene put yairin and ye samin being wayand, and ye oyen and fyre yairin being maid clair and reddie to ye said thomas daugh, To ye said Thomas great hurt & skaith and tinsull of his stuffe, quhilk he wald nocht have sufferit for ten merkis, as ye bill maid yairanent bearis. Quhilk wes sufficientlie proven and verefeit be ye Children of ye said baikhous, In respect of the quhilk wrang, This being Committit be ye saids James & patrik, It

[1] Weighing? or waiting on the dough to gain sufficient proof?

is statut, ordanit, & Concludit be yir presentis, be ye saidis deacon and Counsell, That ye saidis Jamis & patrik pay Instantlie Thre pundis mony, as also ordanis, statutis, and Concludis That If ye saidis Jamis and patrik, or ony vyer Maister of Baikhous, prefer or work ony burges daugh or ony vyer menns daugh and put yė samin In ye oyen befoir ane fremanis daugh, The samin being reddie, and ye fyre maid clair to him, In yat Case ye maister doing in ye Contrair To pay to ye deacon & Counsell four li toties quoties vnforgevin.

[15th September 1627.]

Nomina Consilii.

[Andrew Duncanson, Deacon]	George moffett
Andrew honiman	Thomas buchannan
alexander mortoun	patrik Walker
Johne levingstoun	James broun

keiparis of ye keyis of ye box, Johne Levingstoun, Alexander mortoun

keyis of ye writtis & pinselis, andrew honyman

Act aganis service men

Vpoun ye 22 day of aprile, 1628 zeris, Compeirit personalie Johne rind and walter smyth, service men within alexander mortoun his baikhous, quha submittit yame selfes to ye deacon and Counsell, anent sindrie vrangis and Iniures done be Ilk ane of yame aganis vyeris, with power to yame to decerne heiranent. Quha be yir presentis, ordanis and decernis yame to leve In peice and concord and to be obedient and servicabill to yair maisteris, and to plaise yair Callandis, and for avoyding of farther stryffe that If ony of yame troubill, offend, or Iniure ane vyer be vord or deid, or draw or vear ane quhinger,[1] ye partie offendar to pay to ye deacon

[1] The craftsmen were just as ready to spring towards their weapons as were Jenkin Vincent and his fellow-apprentices in Fleet Street to rush for their clubs, when the call to arms rang down the narrow old London thoroughfare. The Town Council of Edinburgh, on 4th March 1552-3, 'statute and ordanit be the prouest baillies and counsall of this burgh, becaus of the greit slauchteris and vtheris cummeris and tulyeis done in tyme bygane within this burgh, and apperandlie to be done gif na remeid be prouidit thairto, and for eschewing thairof, that ilk maner of persone merchandis craftismen and all vtheris occu-

and Counsell ten merkis toties quoties In tyme cuming, and yis to be extendit nocht onlie aganis ye saidis offendaris bot also aganis all vyeris service men within baikhows In tyme cuming.

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pyaris of buith or chalmeris in the he-gait other heych or laych, that thai haue lang walpynnis thairin, sic as hand ex, jedburgh staiff, halbart, jawalyng and siclik lang walpynnis with knaipskawis and jakkis, and that thai cum thairwith to the he-gait incontinent efter the commoun bell rynging or that thay se ony cummaris of slaucteris tulyeis or apperance thairof, and concur with the officeris of this burgh for stancheing thairof, vnder the pane of tene pund to be tane of ony personis that failyeis heirin within viij dayis nixt heirefter; and for obseruing heirof that ilk baillie mak scerching anis in the moneth throwch all his quarter, and quhair he fyndis ony personis dissobayand this statute that he poynd thame for the said vnlaw; and siclik gif it salhappin ony maner of persone of this burgh ather duelland on the he-gait or ony othair plaice of this burgh beand aduertist of sic cummaris or heirand the commoun bell ryng and absentis or hydis thame self and cumis nocht incontinent to the place quhair the cumar or tulye is, that the persone doand the samin, cognitioun beand tane of his nychtburhis thairof, be punist at the will of the officeris and jugis of the burgh and depryuit of his fredome for euer.'—(Burgh Records, 177.) Long afterwards the baxters of Edinburgh retained the brawling nature of their predecessors, and a row between them and the City Guard was a standing feature of the city life. Auld Reekie's Laureate instances it,

Her nanesel maun be carefu' now,
Nor maun she pe misleard,
Sin baxter lads hae seal'd a vow
To skelp and clout the guard;
I'm sure Auld Reikie kens o' nane
That wou'd be sorry at it,
Tho' they should dearly pay the kane
An' get their tails weel sautit
And sair thir days.

In London an order was passed 'that Bakers shall not carry a sword, club, etc., for making Affray.' In Dundee, 11th October 1578, it was 'statut and ordainit yat na serwand weir his quhanger induring the tyme yat he sall happin to be wtin the bakhous at his labour, wnder the paine of ten schillings for the first falt, for the secund twenty, the ane haiff of the saids unlaws to be dedicat to the reparation off the Cross Kirk, and the other haiff to be disponit be ordwyss of the decone and his consale; and the contraveners of the said act for the thrie tyme to be deprivit and dischargit of his sds baikhouse and all wthers wtin this towne. And gif it sall happin ony of the sds servands to draw his quhinger of malice to ony wther persone, in that respect to be remitted to the judgme-t of the ciuil magistrat of the said burt.' An old regulation of Aberdeen bakers was to the same effect, but it allowed two peculiar exceptions, one for the purpose of feeding and the other for going to landward, a curious commentary upon the state of the neighbourhood; 'It is statute and ordainit that it sall not be leasom to no servant nor apprentiss to wear upon him either whinger or durk or dagger, but ane big knyff for eating of his meat, laiking a poynt, or either he

Vpoun ye xii day of september, 1628 zears, It is statut and Concludit be andrew duncansone, present deacon, and haill brethren of craft, for gude ordour keiping In tyme coming, That na service man or watter man within ony baikhows of yis Ceitie (except ane fremans sone) salbe receavit or admittit as prenteis within ony broyer freman of ye bakster craft of yis Cietie, and Incase ony service [man] presume or attempt to craue, or seik to be prenteis, he salbe alluterlie[1] excludit and exeimit fra all service and vorking with ony broyer of craft, and Siclyke Thay ordane, statut, and Conclude yat Robert kenloquhye, prenteis to patrik walker, sall at na tyme heirefter work or labour In ony baikhows fremanis buith In handling of daugh or ony vyer kynd of labour perteining to ane freman, except onlie to serve and vork his maisteris daugh, and to serve him according to his Indentour and yat he sall nocht receaue or gait at ony tyme heirefter any kynd of daugh, siluer, or vyer service, fra ony broyer of baikhows or lettis him vork ony vark, and quha soevir does In ye Contrair, ye broyer being fund Culpabill, sall pay xls toties quoties.

[13th September 1628.]

Nomina Consilii.

To ye varnar.

[Andrew Duncanson, Deacon]	Johne buchannan
Andrew honiman	Thomas buchannan
Alexander mortoun	patrik arthour
Johne Levingstoun	James broun
George moffett	patrik walkar

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be going to landward in his master's service, and wha contravenes hereintill sall pay six shillings *toties quoties*.' A rule of the bakers of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, of the date 1659, forbade journeymen to carry any fire-arms, swords, or clubs in the markets, gates, or public places, under a penalty of eight pounds. Parisian bakers had a much more stringent prohibition, which had both pacific and sumptuary effects. It was decided on 13th May 1569 to forbid the bearing of swords, daggers, or offensive batons, nor wear cloaks, hats, or high stockings, except on Sundays and fête days, when they were allowed to wear hats, shoes, and stockings of grey or white cloth *(drap)*, and no other colour, upon pain of imprisonment and corporal punishment and confiscation of the offending articles of apparel.

[1] Entirely.

Submissioun of dauid duncan

Vpoun ye penult day of maii, Jai vj^{c} and Tuentie nyne zearis, Compeirit Andrew duncansone, present deacon of ye baksters of S^{t} andros, accompaniet with his brethren vpoun counsell vpoun ye gallow hill, for Takand ordour with dauid duncan, present bakster and ane of ye brethren of ye baksteris, anent ye slanderous and evill disposit wordis spoken & vtterit be him aganis andrew levingstoun, sone to Johne levingstoun, and alexander mortoun, sone to alexander mortoun, baksters, within ye baikhous of Thoms balquhanan, Anent ane fatt Committit be yame Taking of certane daugh fra ye said dauid, quhilk he offerit him to preue, quharof probatioun failzeit him Tho viling, being solemptlie suorn In respect yairof The said dauid submittit him self To ye deacon & Counsell, Quha all, In ane voce, ordanit & be yir presentis, ordanis & decernis ye said dauid to pay Instantlie ane siluer dolour,[1] and If ever he be fund to slander ony broyer of craft or breyeris sone, That ye said dauid or ony vyer broyer slandering & Committing ye lyke offence to pay In tyme Coming Ten markis mony vnforgevin.

[12th September 1629.]

nomina consilii.

[Andrew Duncanson, Deacon]	georg muffat
Androw honymane	Jhone buchanan
Robert walkar	Thomas buchanan
Jhone Leuingstoun	patrik walkar
alexander mortoun	patrik arthour

[11th September 1630.]

Nomina consilii.

Andro Duncansoun, deacon	Robert walker
James broun, positour	Jon leweingstoun
Andro hwnyman	Alexander Myrtoun

[1] In a proclamation made at Edinburgh on 18th December 1598, there were enumerated no fewer than fourteen silver pieces; amongst them two dollars, the 'croce dolour' valued at 44s 8d, and the 'prince dolour' valued at 53s 4d.

xi Junii 1631.

Anent Jon myllis annuel rent

The quhilk day, ye deacone and remanent brethren of baxteris findis yat yair is restand out of Jon myllis baikhous of annuel rent vis yeirlie, 1629 and 1630.

Anent viii li lent to patrik arthour

The same day, the deacone and greattest pairt of the brethren of craft ordaines the positor to furneis to patrik arthour viii lib money.

xiii august 1631.

Act anent ye selling of bannokis

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The quhilk day, andro duncansoun, deacone, and ye greattest pairt of craft being conveneit vpon the hill, ordaines george muffett to pey xls for baiking & selling of gray bannokis, And Ordaines that na baxter being frieman sall sell any banknokis, baikis, nor rollis in his buith, except yese he gettis in service, vnder ye paine of iiii lib, and referris ye baikeis to ye former act.[1]

[10th September 1631.]

Nomina consilii.

Andro hwnyman, deacon
James broun, positour

Andro Duncansoun	george Muffett
Robert walker	Jon buchannan
Jon Leweingestoun	Thomas buchannan
Alexander Mortoun	patrik walker

The zeir of god 1632 zeir, ye 7 of merche.

Acte againis Robert kenlouy

The quhilk day, Androw honymane, deakin, with ye rest of his breithren of counsell, being conueinit vpon ye galow hill, to tak ordor with robert kenloquhy for molesting & Iniuring wiliam leungstoun, In breaking his face with ane

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[1] We have seen that Harrison states that cheat bread was so called because the colour resembled grey or yellowish wheat, and the grey bannocks would likely be made from flours of a mixture of grains. They were probably similar to the plack bannocks of oatmeal or pairings that were banned by the Aberdeen bakers on 25th November 1678.

chanler,[1] [In]* wiliam gedies bailzie, being lat drink & yairefter being confesit be him befoir ye magistratis be ye said robert ye day preceiding, & yairfoir we al in ane woice, statutis & ordanis ye said robert yat giue he sall molest, ofend, or Iniure ye said wiliam or ony broyer of craft or seruice men In tymes cuming to pay ten lib toties quoties; and lykwayis we ordaine yat ye said wiliam & robert sall drink togider[2] and liue togider in brotherly felowschip, neuer to offend wyeris in tyme cuming, wnder ye paine aboue writin. *deleted

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[1] Chanler; a candlestick, from Fr. *chandelier*. Another Scottish form of the word was chandler. In the *Account Book of Sir John Foulis* (Scottish History Society) there is an entry in 1700, 'to Jamie Gray to pay for a chanler mending at ye West Port, 5s.' Before the introduction of gas and electric light into bakehouses, many strange articles were used for holding candles to throw their scanty light into the oven mouths. Some still living have seen bottles, metal candlesticks, and clay holders used for the purpose.

[2] This was a common form of reconciliation at the time, and was observed not only in trade circles, but even in ecclesiastical. Dr. Ross, in *Aberdour and Inchcolme*, expresses the opinion that it pointed to a low tone of religion wherever it was found. He instances a case in 1652, where two men and their wives were brought before the Session for flyting, and came under a bond of twenty pounds not to molest nor scold each other. They were asked 'to take one another by the hand and drink together.' Then two grave members of the Session were appointed to see that the drinking part was duly carried out, and they reported at the next meeting that it had been done. In the Kirk Session of St. Andrews, in 1562, a man was charged with deserting his wife, and in his defence he made very grave allegations against his wife's moral character. The charge against her broke down, and in 'signe of concord amite and simple remit of all displesor, the said Adam, at the desyr of the said Mr Ihon Dowglas, kissid and embraced the said Agnes and drank to hyr.' Dr. Hay Fleming, in a footnote on the case, quotes from the Hammermen's Book, to show that the method was so popular that it even affected the funds of the trade; '2nd March 1593, It is statute ordanit and decernit, be thame all with ane consent, that quhan ony variance sall happin to fall betwix the maister and his servand, na silver of the craftis be drunkin at the aggreing of thame, bot the servand to pay xiijs. iiijd., and the maister vjs. viijd., quhilk of thame beis fund in the falt.' The most historic record of the custom, as well as its most picturesque application, was when James VI. sought to bring about the pacification of the nobles, whose feuds were a source of perpetual danger to the state. Sir Walter Scott makes the King describe it in *The Fortunes of Nigel;* 'Until your Majesty,' said Lord Huntingdon, 'made Lord Ochtred and me cross palms, upon the memorable day when your Majesty feasted all the nobles that were at feud together, and made them join hands in your presence'—'I mind it weel,' said the King; 'I mind it weel—it was a blessed day, being the nineteen day of September, of all days in the year—and it was a blithe sport to see how some of the carles grinned as they clapped loofs together. By my

5 die mensis Junii 1632.

The quhilk Day, the Decan and remanent breithrein of the craft haueing sein James broun, last positour, his comptis of the last yeir, They find that the said James is super expendit in thrie pundis money Quhilk they ordaine thomas bucchannan, present positour, to pay to him and the samyn to be allowit to him in his comptis.

Anent iii lib to James broun positour

[21st August 1632.]

The quhilk day aboue wreittin, The decan and haill remanent brethrein of craft being convenit vpoun the gallow hill as the place accustomat, They all in ane voyce hes concludit, statut, and ordanit, and be thir presentis concludis, statutis, and ordaines, That na brother of the said craft in tyme cuming sall receave ane prenteis for any les space or zeiris nor fyve zeiris and ane zeir for meat and fie, And that na breither of craft sall aggrie to quyt or give over his prenteis, nor receave ane vther prenteis, quhill the saidis fyve zeiris of prentischip and ane zeir for meat and fie be expyrit, Wnder the paine of four pundis money to be payit be the contraveneris heirof toties quoties.

That all prenteiss be receavit for v zeiris and ane zeir for meat and fie

[15th September 1632.]

Nomina Consilii.

Andro hunieman, decan	James Broun
Andro Duncansone	Alexander myrtoun
Thomas Bucchannan	Johnne bucchannan
Robert Walcar	

[24th April 1633.]

The quhilk day, The said Decan and haill breithrein being convenit on the hill, as said is, They all in ane voyce, efter dew deliberatioun, statut, concludit, and ordanit That quhatsumever baxter, being ane prenteis to ony baxter of the said citie of St androis, and maries ane baxteris dochter, Sall be receavit to the libertie of the said craft ffor payment of the

Act anent theis quha maries breitheris dochteris

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saul, I thought some of them, mair special the Hieland chiels, wad have broken out in our own presence; but we caused them to march hand in hand to the Cross, ourselves leading the way, and there drink a blithe cup of kindness with ilk other, to the staunching of feud, and perpetuation of amity.'

sowme of LXXX lib money allennarlie[1] of fridom silver, in all tyme heirefter, and that all prenteiss quha sall not marie baxteris dochteris of St androis sall be receavit for na les fridome silver nor i c. lib money; and this act to be observit inviolablie heirefter.[2]

Die xxii mensis Junii 1633.

The quhilk day, Thomas bucchannan his positour comptis fra the last day of Maii 1632 to the xx day of Junii instant, both his oneratioun and exoneratioun, being laid over, red, sen and considerit, be the decan, counsall, and the maist part

Positour comptis hard

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[1] Only.

[2] Trading rights were conferred on sons by birth, on daughters' husbands by marriage, and on strangers by apprenticeship or purchase. The dues of entry were very much in favour of sons and sons in-law. In the College of Bakers at Rome the sons of bakers had to follow the trade, and if anyone made up his mind to marry the daughter of a baker, he, being admitted to the family, became liable to the lot of the bakehouse. If the son-in-law squandered the daughter's goods, and thought that he or she ought to be released from the Corporation, he was bound to the trade by the very same tie of law as if he were bound by origin. Bakers and their descendants were forbidden to marry actresses or circus-performers, or women not connected with the Guild, and if they were known to have sought such unions, they were liable, after being scourged, to be banished, and their goods confiscated. But if any of their daughters married actors, circus-riders, or men not connected with the craft, these had to become pistors. At one time, Dundee Town Council offered, with a view of inducing strangers to settle in the town and to arrest its decay, that any person marrying a tradesman's daughter, should enjoy the rights of his father-in-law. In 1606, however, the Hammermen had taken a different and unchivalrous view, and discharged all freemen's daughters from any benefit of the liberty, and debarred them from all privileges if they married unfree men. Glasgow bakers, on 10th April 1741, agreed that sons-in-law should serve two years after marriage, and then pay the same fine as other apprentices. In some of the German guilds, the period of probation before starting as a master was shortened, if the probationer married the daughter or widow of a baker.

'As he cummis brankand throw the toun,
With his keis clynkand on his arme,
That calf clovin futtit fleid custroun,
Will mary nane bot a burges bairne.'

'To marry a baker's daughter is to marry a fortune,' says a French proverb, and an old French play, 'Farce du Savetier,' contains in a dialogue;—

Audin, Je me plains fort des boulenjers
Qui font si petit pain.
Audette, C'est pour croistre leur butin,
Et leur estat faire braguer
Et pour leurs filles marier.

of the said craft, They allowit the samyn to the said thomas, and findis the said Thomas to be awand to the craft xxxixs be his comptis, quhilk they ordain him to pay.

[14th September 1633.]

Nomina consilii.

Andro Duncansone, Decan	Alexander myrtoun
Andro hunneman	Johnne bucchannan
Robert Walcar	Johnne myllis
Thomas bucchannan	Patrik Walcar
James Broun	George moffett

Die vigesimo nono mensis Januarii Jajº vjc trigesimo quarto.

Contra Patrik Walcar

The quhilk [day], Andro Duncansone, Decan, and the haill remanent brether vpoun counsall of the said craft, being convenit on the hill, and haueing hard, sein, and considderit ane complaint given in be Thomas bucchannan, Positour, againes Patrik Walcar, for schandering and abusseing as at Length is contenit in the complaint, And the samyn being sufficientlie proven, The saidis Decan and counsall, all in ane voyce, discharges the said Patrik fra bearing office in the said craft as counsallour or ony vther office therof heirefter, quhill first he pay to the Decan and counsall the soum of Ten pundis money.

Die Septimo mensis februarii 1634.

Ordinance anent the receaveing ofprenteiss

The quhilk Day, Andro Duncansone, being decan, and he and the haill remanent brethrein of the said baxter craft of Stᵗ androis, Being all convenit in the colledge kirk of Sanct salvatour,[1] anent the taking of guid ordour anent certain of the common effairis of the said craft Tending to the vtilitie thereof, They all, in ane voyce, efter matur deliberatioun, statut, concludit, and ordanit That na frieman of the said craft quha wes ane prenteis of the samyn craft himselff Sall

[1] The College of St. Salvator was founded by Bishop Kennedy, in the chapel of which he was buried in 1466. The chapel was afterwards used as the Parish Kirk of St. Leonards. It was repaired and improved in 1846.

heirefter receave ane prenteis to himselff of the samyn craft quhill the said frieman be Tuelff yeiris ane frieman of the said craft,[1] Wnder the pain of Tuentie pundis money Toties quoties, they or ony of thame sall happin To contravein; and the saidis Decan and breithrein ordaines this act to stand and remain in the awin strength and effect therof heirefter To be onviolablie observit; and ratifies all formar actis maid heirtofoir anent the premiss; and the saidis Decan and breithrein ordanit me, notar publict wnder wreittin, clerk of the said craft, To subscryve this present act.

Robertus Myrtoun Notarius publicus dicte artis scriba manu sua.

Anent the friemen quha sould serve as officiar

The quhilk day befoir wreittin, the saidis Decan and brethrein of craft, statut, concludit and ordanit, all in ane voice, That all friemen to be receavit heirefter To the fridome of the said craft Sall inserve themselffis in ther awin persone as officiar of the said craft ffor a yeir or ellis To pay ten pundis money ilk persone frieman that sall be enterit To the vse of the said craft.

ffollowis the tennour of ane act maid be the decan warnar and remanent decanes of Sainttandrois Againes the evill weisting of the common guid of the craftis of Saintandrois.

At Sanctandrois the fourtein day of Januar, the yeir of god, Jaj sex hundreth threttie and ffour yeiris.

The quhilk day, dauid fairfull, decan warnar[2] of the craftis of the said citie, Johnne dease, decan of the hammermen,

[1] Twelve years after admission was a long period to bind freemen not to take an apprentice, although not the longest recorded. In 1581 no baker could take an apprentice until he had been a master for four years, and then he was only permitted to take one, until the apprentice had served six and a half years of his time. In Eisenach a new master had to be established three years before he could take an apprentice, and any master who had employed an apprentice for the full term of his indentures, could not take another for three years. In Ingolstadt the period in both cases was two years, but here the apprenticeship only lasted for two years.

[2] Convener.

Ordinance againes evill employing of ye common guid of the craftis

Johnne mayn, decan of wrichtis, andro duncansoun, decan of the baxteris, Robert gourlay, decan of the tailzeouris, Thomas playfair, decan of ye cordineris,[1] William meassoun, decan of flescheris, and Johnne discher, decan of ye brabonaris,[2] of the said citie, Being all convenit in the paroche kirk of ye said citie, ffor taking and setting doun of guid ordour anent sindrie effearis[3] of ye saidis craftis Tending to the weill and vtilitie therof and breithrein of the samyn To be observit and keipit be decanes of craftis and brethrein therof Within the said citie in all tyme cumming, They all in ane voyce, and with ane consent, ratifiet, and approveit, and be the tennour heirof ratifies and approves, That act and ordinance maid and sett doun in the warnaris buik of the said citie, vpoun the tuentie sevint day of Januar Jaj vjc tuentie thrie yeires, Be the decan warnar and remanent decanes of craftis of ye said citie for the tyme, Quhairby they ordanit, woited, and concludit ffor certain guid causs, and considerationes and for the weill and vtilitie of the saidis craftis, and for keiping and conserveing of the common guid and patrimonie therof, That quhensoever any frie man sould be enterit and acceptit to the fridome and libertie of ony of the saidis craftis at ony tyme therefter That the fridome money to be payit be that enterand frieman sould be put in the craftis common boxes or vther wayis weill employed[4] To the vse, proffeit, and commoditie of the said craft and breithrein therof, quhair the said frieman sould be swa enterit and receavit and sould be maid furth cummand for helping to by victuall cumming fra foran nationes in tyme of skaistie, paying of taxiones, and supporting and helping of decayit breithrein of the saidis craftis, and for

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[1] Shoemakers.

[2] Websters or weavers.

[3] Affairs, concerns.

[4] Dundee bakers passed a similar but much shorter act on 1st July 1577: 'Ye Dekin and co-sale being co-venit, yai all, wt ane, vote, haist statut and ordain, That in all tyme co-ing, The haill entries siluer qt all prentisses, and silver of vpsetting of maisteris buthis of ye said Craft salbe a continued statut off ye ressait yrof, and putt in ye comoun lokkit keyst of ye said Craft, And not at na tyme to remaine in ony Dekynis handis.'

paying and defraying of vther charges quhairwith they ar onerat and burdenit quhensoever the Lyk occasiones sould occur and fall out, and that the samyn in na tyme therefter sould be evill spent or waistit or ony maner of way distribut or pairtit among the breithrein of ony of the saidis craftis as the said act beiris IN all poyntis: LYKAS the saidis decan warnar and remanent decanes foirsaidis, all in ane voyce, with ane consent and assent for the weill and vtilitie of the saidis craftis, and ilk ane of thame OFF new againe statut, concludit, and ordanit, and be the tennour heirof statutis, concludis, and ordaines That in na tyme heirefter ther sall be na friedome silver nor na vther money quhatsumever of the patrimonie and common guid of the saidis craftis, nor any of thame, nor nane of the common guid therof, nor na part of the samyn, ony maner of way distribut or pairtit among the brethrein therof, or evill spent or waistit be thame, or ony wayis employit to ony vther vse bot onlie to the common vse, weill, and vtilitie of ye saidis craftis for ther awin partis To be maid furth cummand to that effect, and for the defraying of the common necessar charges of the saidis craftis for ther awin partis, helping of the decayit breithrein therof in ther necessitie, and paying of taxationes, and vtheris impositiones quhair with the saidis craftis ar onerat Swa that ther sall be na casualtie belonging to the patrimonie of ye saidis craftis or ony of thame ony vther maner of way employit Bot onlie to be maid furth cummand to the vtilitie and weill of the saidis craftis for ther awin partis in maner foirsaid. And In case it sall happin ony of the decanes of ye saidis craftis and breithrein thereof, in ony tyme cumming, To contravein this present act and ordinance, and sall vtheriwayis employ the common guid of ther said craft nor is befoir specifiet, In that case the decan and breithrein of that craft that sall happin swa to contravein Sall pay to the decan warnar and remanent decanes of the saidis craftis or ther successouris The sowme of ffourtie pundis money of Scotland Toties quoties they sall happin to contravein this present ordinance To be employit at the will and pleasour of the warnar and remanent decanes for

Ordinance againes the evill employing of ye patrimonie of ye craftis

the tyme. And the saidis decan warnar and remanent decanes foirsaidis ordeines that this present ordinance sall stand in effect To be inviolablie observeit, and keipit in all tyme cumming, be the present decanes of the saidis craftis and ther successouris, and ordaines Robert myrtoun, notar publict, present clerk to the saidis haill craftis, To insert this present act in the said warneris buik and in ilk ane of the saidis craftis buikis, To remain therein ad perpetuam rei memoriam; And to subscryve the samyn in the saidis buikis Lykas the saidis decan warner present and remanent decanes foirsaidis heir subscryvit the samynt In the said warneris buik.

Ita est Robertus Myrtoun notarius publicus artium civitatis Sanctiandree scriba.

Die Duodecimo mensis februarii 1634.

Act In favouris of Patrik Walcar

The quhilk Day, the Decan and counsall, all with ane consent, acceptit and receavit Patrik Walcar, baxter, as ane counsallour of the said craft, as he wes befoir the making of the act maid againes him vpoun the xxix day of Januar Last, and dischargeit the said formar act In respect of the said Patrik his penitencie and satisfactioun to the decan and counsall, and the said Patrik wes sworne as vse is.

Die Decimo mensis Junii 1634.

positour comptis hard and allowit

The quhilk day, Thomas bucchannan, last positour, his positour comptis of this Last yeir being hard, sein, and layed over, wer allowit be the Decan and brither of craft in all poyntis, and findis him therby to be awand xxiiis iiiid quhilk he paye presentlie.

[13th September 1634.]

Nomina conisilii.

Andro Duncansone, Decan
Andro hunieman
Robert Walcar, positour
Thomas bucchannan
James Broun
Alexander myrtoun
Johnne bucchannan
Patrik Walcar
George moffet
Johnne myllis
Johnne levingstoun

[12th September 1635.]

Nomina consilii.

x Andro Duncansone, Decan	x Alexander myrtoun
x Robert Walcar, positour	x Johnne bucchannan
Andro hunieman	Patrik Walcar
x Thomas bucchannan	George moffett
x James broun	Johnne Levingstoun

Die decimo sexto mensis octobris 1635.

Anent declynning of the Decan his Judicatorie

The quhilk Day, Andro Duncansone, Decan, and the haill brether of counsall, statut and ordanit that na brother of craft sall heirefter persew or intend ony actioun dew and belonging to the Judicatorie of the said Decan and his successouris Befoir ony vther Judge, quhill first he sall offer the said complaint to the Decan and be refuissit therin, Wnder the pain of Ten pundis money toties quoties, and ratifies all formar actis maid theranent.[1]

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[1] It was a very reasonable contention that matters within the jurisdiction of the Deacon should be submitted to him, before any outside power should be called in. In this case it appeared to be confined to the consideration of trade grievances, but in others it was extended to any kind of civil case. The Free Brothers of the Exeter Guild of Tailors swore that they would not sue any brother or man of the craft at common law, without leave of the Master and Wardens. The matter was to be laid before them first of all for remedy if possible. It was a very ancient provision, and no doubt took its rise from the custom that ruled in the old religious guilds. The rule of the York bakers on the subject was 'canny' enough to have been drafted in St. Andrews; 'if ther happen anie contrauersie to fall or be betwene anie of the said occupacion, they nor none of them shall attempt any suite of lawe one against another without licence of the searchers, before they haue compleyned themselves therof to ther searchers and companye, nor before the searchers and companye and other whom they shall call to them have hadd the hearinge of the same controuersies; to thintent to ende the same without expenses in lawe, if they cann.' The *Black Book* of Coventry contains a law 'For goynge to lawe one agaynst an other; It is also ordayned and agreed, That if any of the sayde fellowshippe be at contencon stryfe or debate one agaynst an other, eyther for dett, or for any other cause whatsoever (lawfull to be determyned by the fellowshippe) That then the partye grieved shall not further complayne, sue, vexe, moleste nor trouble the other ptie in the lawe, before the master of the same companye have had the hearynge of the cause, and the determynacon and endynge of the matter in controversie (if it maye be) which if he can not doo, then to geve lycence to the partye greeved to take his remeady at the Lawe, upon payne that every psone so offendynge shall forfayt & pay for everye offence sixe shillings eight pence,

[16th June 1636.]

Contra Myrtoun, Kenlowie

The quhilk day, Johnne myrtoun, baxter, and Robert Kenlowie haueing oppenlie vpoun the hill, Injurit and struglet with vtheris, In presence of the Decan and haill brether of craft, and the said Johnne haueing put handis in the said Robert, Quhilk wes notorlie knawen To the haill brether of craft, The Decan and haill brether of craft convictis the said Johnne in ane wnlaw of xls money and the said Robert in xxs money for ther offence, Quhairanent the said Robert hes referrit himselff in will, and ordanes ilk ane of thame or ony vther brother that sall offend or molest vtheris heirefter on the hill To pay x lib money toties quoties.

vpoun the last of Junii 1636.

positour comptis

The quhilk day, Robert walcar, last positour, his last yeiris positor comptis being given in, It wes fund be the fuit therof that he restit the craft iii lib xii s, quhilk the craft ordanes him to give in to Patrik Walcar, present positor, and he to be comptable therfoir.

[10th September 1636.]

Nomina consilii.

Andro Duncansone, Decan	James Broun
Andro huneman	Johnne bucchannan
Robert Walcar	Thomas bucchannan
Alexander myrtoun	Johnne Levingstoun
Patrik walcar, positour	George moffett

Die Vigesimo octavo mensis Junii, anno Jaj° vjc° trigesimo septimo, 1637.

Act againes the baikeris of baikis

The quhilk day, Andro Duncansone being Decan, and heall brethrein on counsall of Craft being convenit on the hill, as ther ordinar place of meitting, for taking guid ordour anent the effearis of the craft, They all in ane voyce, but con-

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to thuse of the fellowshipp.' The Provost, Magistrates, and Council of Aberdeen, on 3rd April 1581, passed a law against anyone taking a case to the 'Commissar' of Aberdeen, and instructed the citizens to have all cases tried before their 'ordinar magistratis,' to wit, themselves. Very ordinary magistrates no doubt some of the craftsmen thought them.

tradictioun, for the weill and benefiet of the craft Ratifiet and approveit, and be thir presentis ratifies and approves, that act and ordinance of the said craft insert in this buik maid vpoun the tuentie aucht day of Maij, Jajvc fourscoir and tuelff yeiris, quhairby It wes ordanit and statut be the decan and brethrein of the same craft for the tyme, That na baikis sould be baiken therefter, except baikis to gang to the sea, wnder the pain of xls, as the said act at length beiris In the heall headis, tennour, and effect therof. And statuttis and ordaines heirby That the said act be in all tyme heirefter invioablie observeit and keipit in all poyntis. And that na baikis be baiken in ony baikhous of the said citie, or put in the owne, wnder quhatsumever colour or pretext (except to gang to the sea), wnder the pain of iiii lib money To be payit be the contraveineris To the Decan and counsall, Toties quoties, And that ilk foreman adverteis the decan and counsall of ony quha contraveines, Wnder the pane of iiii lib.

[9th September 1637.]

Nomina consilii.

Andro huneman, Decan
Patrik walkar, positour
Andro Duncansone
Robert walcar
Jone Levingstoun
Thomas bucchannan
Alexander myrtoun
Jon bucchannan
James broun

The names of the frie men baxteris in S^{t} androis.

1 Andro honyman, present deacon
2 Patrik walker, present positour
3 Andro Duncansoun
4 George Muffett
5 Dauid Duncan
6 Thomas month
7 James broun
8 Robert kendlow
9 Thomas buchannan
10 James pitcarne
11 William leiveingstoun
12 James Duncansoun
13 Patrik arthour
14 James walker
15 Charles small
16 Jon leiveingstoun
17 Jon walker
18 Alexander myrtoun, elder
19 Jon myrtoun
20 Alexander myrtoun, younger

21 Robert walker
22 Dauid walker
23 Jon honyman
24 Archbald leiveingstoun
25 Johne buchannan
26 Jon bred

24 Maij, 1638.

Anent selling of bread within the toun

The quhilk day, andro honyman being deacon, The haill brethren of baxteris stattutis & ordaines that na friemen wyff nor bairnes nor serveandis sall Carie any bread to any citiner nor Induelleris hous in S^t androis vndesyreit to sell vnder ye paine of xls.[1]

T. Gourlaw notarius.

26 Maij, 1638.

Compt walker positour

The quhilk day, patrik walker, positour, haueing maid his comptis anent thir tua yeiris bygane, It is fund that he hes maid compleit payment of his haill ressaittis of ye moeyis receaueit be him in name of the craft, In presence of the Deacon and consill.

[15th September 1638.]

Nomina Consilii.

Andro honyman, Deacon
Robert Walker, positour
Andro Duncanesone
James Broun
Thomas Buchannane
Alexander Mortoun
Johne Levingstoun
Johne Buchannane
Patrik Walker
Williame Levingstoun
Johne Mortoun

[1] This regulation is directed against hawking, and not against the ordinary delivery of bread. The bakers of Coventry were very particular in upholding the dignity of those who had been masters, and of masters' wives. In the *Black Book* are two curious rules on these points. 'That no persone of the same fellowshippe which hath byn master or keper of the company shall carrye any breade into the towne hym selfe, unles he be not able to kepe a servannte, upon payne to forfayte and paye for everie faulte 3s. 4d. to thuse aforesayde.' 'No mannes wyfe of the sayde fellowshippe shall at any tyme carrye any breade to any Taverne, Inne, or alehowse, unlesse it be by urgente occasion, that her husbande or servannte be out of the waye, or ells have no servante to do it for them, And then to carry the same eyther in some handbaskett, or in their appornes pryvelye, but not in skepps, or mawltsyves, or openly, upon payne that her husbande shall paye to the fellowshippe, 3s. 4d.'

The quhilk Day, Delyverit To Robert walker, positour, The keyis of ye wreattis, And Delyverit to Johne Levingstoun and Alexander Mortoun The keyis of the Box.

The quhilk Day, Delyverit To the Deacon the Box, ane new pinsell and the auld, with the kist contening the writtis.

Decimo octavo Junii 1639.

Positour Comptis allowit

The quhilk Day, Andro honyman, Deacone, and haill bretheren of Craft being Conveinit, The Positour Comptis of Craft be pluraltie of Vottis wer hard, sene, and allowit, And It is fund that thair is auchtand To the Positour the Comptis being allowit ffour pund sextene schillingis Ten pennies money Lykwayes The Deacone and haill bretherene Votting Ordanes James broun and Petir Duncansone Ilk ane of them ffyftie sex schillingis To pay and give in To the Positour.

Act Walker contra kaid

The quhilk Day, The said Deacone and his Counsall, being conveinit vpone the Gallowhill, Ordaneit Johne kaid, sone to Andro kaid, To come home as service man to Robert walker, and Ordaneit him To pay ffourtie schillingis for his entrie. And als Ordanes the said Robert Walker to pay xxs ffor his accepting of ye said Johne kaid in his service.

Jacobus Muirheid Scriba dictæ Artis.

Septimo Die mensis Septembris 1639.

Act Anent the keiping of ye craftis armour

The quhilk Day, Andro honyman, Deacone, and haill bretheren of Craft being Conveinit, They all in ane voyce Statutes, Concludes, and ordanes That the haill artilazarie and Armour pertening to ye said craft As follows, viz, Thrie Muskettis, tua pickis, thrie bandeliers, tua swordis, and tua sworde beltis, be keipit in Custodie be the deacone of the said Craft Sua lang as he sall remaine in his office. And gif he beis changeit And ane vther as deacone succeiding in his rowme, The deacone succeiding sall have the custodie of ye foirsaid Armour. And the deacone havear yairof sall vpone the morne eftir the electioun of the new deacone sall (sic) rander and delyver the samyne Armour To ye new deacone, To be

keipit be him till the nixt succeiding deacone eftir him, And this to be observeit anent the keiping of ye foirsaid Armour In all tyme cuming heireftir. mairouer yai haif ordanit yat no deakin len nor giue out ye said armour but aduyse of his counsell in tymes coming.[1]

[14th September 1639.]

Nomina Consilii.

Andro honyman, deacon	Thomas Buchannan
Robert walker, Positour	Alexander mortoun
Andro Duncansone	Johne Levingstoun
James broun	Johne Buchannan
Patrik Walker	Williame Levingstoun

Johne Mortoun

Secundo Octobris 1639.

Act Aganis George Moffet and ony brother ffor offending ony neighbour in disgraceand thair breid

The quhilk Day, Andro honyman, Deakone of the Baxsteris, And Counsall, being Conveinit vpone the ordinar place of meitting, ffor taking ordour Anent ane Complaint gevin In be Thomas monthe Aganis George moffett, ffor lichtlieand and disgraceand the said Thomas breid. And Considering the said Complaint And finding that ye said George had done wrang, Thairfoire the said deakone, with consent of his Counsall, Conveinit as said is, All In ane voyce, And with ane consent and assent, Decernit, and ordanit and Convicted the said George In ane vnlaw of ffourtie schillingis of vnlaw and Sex schillingis aucht pennies for his absence and Contumacie. And als the said deacone and Counsall, All In ane voyce, Statute, Concludes, and ordanes That gif the said George moffett or ony vther brother of ye Craft sall offend In

[1] Towns and counties had to supply certain numbers of able-bodied men for service in war, and in burghs the specific number was made up from the trades, proportionate to their strength. The armour belonged to the trades, and this resolution (which may be intelligible from the date coinciding with the Civil War) was to prevent it being put to illegitimate uses. 'Bandeliers' were wooden powder cases. In 1661 the Coventry bakers paid 'for a musquott, sword, and Bandoliers, 15s. 9d.' In the same year they paid three shillings for 'scouringe the armour and bearers.' The quaint processions and trade pageants of Coventry caused entries relating to the armour of the craft to be made long after their warlike signification had ceased.

disgraceing and Lichtlieand ony neighbouris breid[1] heireftir In tymes cuming, And being proven sall pay The sowme of Ten pundis money Toties quoties.

Act Againes Jon Walkar

The quhilk Day, The deakone and Counsall being Conveinit Anent the Complaint gevin in be Alexander mortoun, younger, officiar, Aganis Johne Walker, for Injureing him with malicious speiches and Idle wordis. The wrang being provin be Petir Duncansone and Johne bruce, The said Deakone and Counsall Convicted the said Johne Walker in xls of vnlaw. And gif he offend ony brother Or deakone positour heireftir he sall be ordanit To pay The sowme of Ten pundis money.

3 October, 1639.

Act Aganis Jon Adie

The quhilk day, It is statute and ordaneit be the deakone and his Counsall In respect of a wrong and offence [c]omittit Be Johne Adie, ane vnfrieman, and als not ane service man, In helping of George moffett To baik, That quhatsumevir brother of Craft sall Imploy the said Johne adie in service In ony tyme cuming Sall pay The sowme of xls money of vnlaw vntill the tyme the said Johne cum to ye deakone and his Counsall and make satisfactioun for the offence and wrong done In maner abouewrittin.

Quarto October, 1639.

The quhilk day, Andro honyman, deakone, and his Counsall, being Conveinit, at ye ordinar place appointit for meitting,

[1] I only find one other distinct prohibition of bakers slighting another's bread, and it is a very quaint one in the *Black Book* of Coventry; 'For dyspraysynge of other mennes breade, It is also ordered and agreed, That no persone nor psones of the saide fellowship beynge drynkynge, makynge merrye, or in company in any Inne, vytayling howse, or in any other resorte or companye (out of the lawfull assemblie of the same fellowshippe) shall dyspyse, dysprayse, or contemne any other mannes breade of the same companye; nayther shall take upon them to waye, or entermeddle with the same (unles he be sworne, or lawfully appoynted to that purpose) upon payne to forfayte and paye 3s. 4d. To the use of the fellowship.' It would almost appear that in the ordinary meetings a man could say what he liked about the weight or quality of another's bread, thus preventing disparaging remarks being made before customers, and permitting charges to be made where they could be rebutted.

Act Aganis Jon Walkar Robert Walkar Alexander Mortoun

ffor taking away the debate and variance And wrong Comittit be Johne Walker and Robert Walker, sone to Robert Walker, Againes Alexander Mortoun, zounger, And be the said Alexander mortoun Againes them. And then, all thrie haveing Submittit and Referrit themselffis To ye said deakone and Counsall, The said deakone and his Counsall, all in ane voyce, and with ane consent, Statutes, Concludes, and ordanes That gif ony of the saidis Johne and Robert walkeris and Alexander Mortoun Sall In ony tyme heireftir Molest or Injure vtheris be worke, worde, or deid, The offendar Injurar sall pay To ye deakone and his Counsall The sowme of Ten pundis money of vnlaw.

xxiiii marche, 1640.

Act Aganis Jon Bred

The quhilk day, Andro honyman, deakone, and the Counsall and bretherene, Conveinit at the ordinar place appoyntit for meitting, Anent ye Complaint gevin in be Elizabethe Buchannan Aganis Johne braid and his wyffe ffor tysting of hir Callandis and Customeris by hir. The wrong being provin, The said deakone and Counsall, all in ane voyce, Ordanes the said Johne Braid To pay for ye said wrong xls, and vther ffourtie fourtie (sic) schillingis of vnlaw ffor trangressing of ane former act sett doun in this buike Aganis carryeing of breid throw the Toun, And Ordanis him To be dischargeit fra baiking till he satisfie the foirsaidis vnlawes.[1]

[1] Braid and his wife appear to have succeeded in contravening three fundamental rules—taking away an apprentice from another employer, enticing customers away, and carrying bread through the town. In the Oaths of the Guild of the Tailors of Exeter were included 'Ye schall not wtdraw no mans apprintes, ne no man ys servant, tyll tht resonabell departyng be made betwyxt the M. and his servant.' 'Also, ye schall not steure, procure, ne excite, by yorselfe ne by no nother menes, to wtdraw from yor M., ne from no brother of the craft, any of ther costomers, wother thei wolen be servyd be you by ther awne volontary wyll.' No servant was allowed to leave a Coventry baker without 'fyrst havyne the good wyll of his former master to departe,' and anyone receiving him into service had to forfeit three shillings and fourpence for each offence. In 1778 the Munich bakers had a rule, amongst others ratified by Duke Karl Theodor, prohibiting any master, either through himself or through his servants, from drawing away from another master either any of his customers or workmen, under the penalty of two pounds of wax to the funds of the trade. In 1730 the Stettin bakers passed a rule against bakers making strife between

Sexto Die mensis Junii.

The quhilk Day, Andro honyman, Deakone, and haill brethrene, being conveinit vpone the gallowhill, Robert Walker, Positour for ye yeir preceiding, gave In his Comptis, quhilkis wer hard, sene, and layed In presence of ye said deacone and bretherene; wha all in ane voyce allowit of ye saidis Comptis, And fand that the said Robert wes superexpendit In the sowme of ellevin pundis fyftene schillingis Quhilk sowme they ordane the present Positour To pay To the said Robert of the first and Reddiest of the craftis geir whensoevir the present positour sall tak vpe or ressave the same. The Positour Comptis allowit

[12th September 1640.]

nomina consilii.

James broun, Deacon	Thomas buchanan and	
Patrik walkar, positour	Jhone buchanan	
Androw honymane	Alex^{r} mortoun	Kay of the vrettis
Jhone Leuingstoun	Jhone mortoun	
Robert Walkar and	wiliame leuingstoun	kyes of the boks

1640.

Vpon ye 3 of october, ye Deakin, James broun, with ye remanent breithring of baxter craft, being conueinit vpon ye gallow hill, for obseruing & keiping gud ordour among ye breitring of craft, anent ye act maid in transporting & carying bread out of ye toun, quhilk act wes maid & Insert in yis buik ye zeir of god, 1593 zeir, all in ane voyce, hes ratifiet & aprouit ye said act, & ordainis yat no broyer nor member of craft heirefter sall transport or cary bred of ye toun fra yis

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an employer and his servants and journeymen in order to draw the latter away. The terms of the Bakers of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (1659) were 'ne pourront lesdits maistres desbaucher ny retenir chez eux les compagnons d'un autre maistre, ny les employer, qu'auparavant ils ne sachent si les maistres d'ou ils sortent sont contens de luy, ou fait apparoir du certificat de son dit maistre, a peine de huicht livres parisis d'amande.' The rules on the same subjects of the Pastry Bakers (1440) were 'que lesdiz ouvriers dudit mestier tenans ouvrouers, ne pourrant sortraire les apprentiz l'un de l'autre, . . . aussi ne pourront sortraire les chalans l'un de l'autre, ne porter ou envoyer messaiges ne cedulles a ceste fin.'

tyme furth, wnder na collour nor pretence, wnder ye paine of 4 lib toties quoties. [N.B.—In the margin]—neyer In tyme of dreaf or ony wyer ocasion.

1641.

Positors compt

Vpon ye 26 day of June, ye deacane, James broun, being conueinit vpon ye galow hill, with ye haill breithring of craft of baxters, to heir patrik walkar positors compt, & all in ane voice hes allowed ye said compts, & hes fund yat ye said positor restis awand to ye craft ye soum of seuin pund, fyfteine schilings, aucht penyis; ye quhilk soum yai ordanit him to pay to Robert walkar Immediatlie yairefter.

[11th September 1641.]

Nomina consilii.

[James Brown, Deacon]	Robert Walker
Androw honyman	Johnne buchannan
Thomas buchannan	patrik Walker
Johnne mortoun	William lewingstoun
Dauid Duncane	Thomas mont
Patrik arthour	

quarto die mensis Januarii 1642 zeiris.

Act anent taikin of tuo pryces of ane baikin

The quhilk day, James browne, being decan, convenit with his haill bretheren of craft vpone the gallowhill, It is concludit, statuit, and ordainet that na brother of craft or na wther member of craft tak vpone hand to baik tuo sindrie kyndis of bred; that is to say, Ten pennie breid and Tuelff pennie bred of ane baikin, in na tyme heirefter; nor to sell nor giue vis. vorth of breid for fywe schillingis nor Tuelff schillingis for Ten schillingis, within the towne to na persone nor persones, inhabitantis in Sanctandrois, and siclyk that yis act salbe keipit Inviolable, vnder the paine of xls for the first fault, for the secund fault iiii lib, and sua furth to be dowblit sua oft as any brether sall contraveine heirin.[1]

Jacobus Reid scriba.

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[1] We have had a reference to fivepenny and sixpenny bread, and here we have one to tenpenny and twelvepenny. The price of bread did not change; the weight was altered with the fluctuations of the market. The money

elewint day of Juni 1642 zeiris.

The quhilk day, James browne, being decan, accompaniet with his bretheren vpone ye gallow hill, for considering and hearing of ye positouris comptis for ane zeir bygane, it is fund that ye said positour, Jo^n^ mortoun, restis to the craft the sowme of nyne schillingis aucht pennies money. Positour his comptis

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denomination was in Scots money, and this explains the difference between the names of the prices charged by the York bakers. In that town the bakers were prohibited from making large loaves; the sizes they were allowed to make were farthing, halfpenny, and penny white, halfpenny and penny wheaten, penny and twopenny household loaves. The only exceptions were sodden and rye bread, and a dispensation was allowed at Christmas. In Glasgow, by a resolution of the Town Council on 17th November 1599, only sixpenny and twelvepenny loaves were permitted to be made. The Assize of Bread prevalent in England was extended to Scotland, by Act of Parliament, in 1739. But by the time the Assize was abolished there were two methods of fixing the sale of bread, namely, by altering the weight of the bread at which the loaves were sold at a standard price, or by altering the price of loaves sold at a standard weight. Various tables were necessary to guide magistrates in fixing these important points. The tables are frequently met with and need not be repeated here. They are long and intricate. Some indication of them and a knowledge of the kind of loaves may be gathered from the statement that in 1758 the table dealing with wheaten bread was in two parts. Part I. was the Assize Table, and deals with variations in the weights. The small assized bread consisted of the penny wheaten. the penny household, the twopenny wheaten, the twopenny household; the large assize bread consisted of the sixpenny, the twelvepenny, and the eighteenpenny, and of each kind there were wheaten and household varieties. Part II. dealt with the prized or priced bread, of which the weight remained stationary and the price altered. Here, also, provision had to be made for wheaten and household, and the denominations were quartern, half-peck, and peck. The peck loaf weighed 17 lb. 6 ounces, and a sack of flour or meal, weighing 2 cwt. 2 qrs. net, turned out on the average twenty peck loaves. Thus it will be seen that these two tables made provision for the selling of sixteen kinds of loaves. But this did not exhaust the varieties of bread. Another table gives the weights of the penny, twopenny, sixpenny, and twelvepenny loaves, each of which might be made from rye, barley, oats, beans, or maslin. The last mentioned was called a 'miscellany' grain, consisting of one-third rye, one-third barley, and one-third either of pease or beans. Then provision had also to be made for the price of the peck loaves made from the same kinds of grains. Thus the second table provided for setting the weights or prices of twenty-five kinds of loaves, which with those regulated by the wheat tables, reached the large number of forty-one loaves, differing in price, weight, or composition. But even the twelvepenny bread was not the largest that was made in Scotland in early days. In 1664 the outland bakers of Edinburgh were compelled to send in bread to the market only of 'good and sufficient, well dried, and of known prices, as sixpenny bread, twelvepenny bread, twa-shilling bread, three-shilling bread, four shilling bread, six-shilling bread, and

[10th September 1642.]

Nomina consilii.

[Robert Walker, Deacon]	Johnne mortoun
James Browne	Patrik arthour
Androw honyman	Thomas mounth
Thomas Buchannan	Peter Duncansone
Patrik walker	Alexr mortoun
James pitcairne	William lewingstone

James browne, key of ye box
Androw honyman hes ye keiping of ye keyis of ye wreitis boxis
Thomas buchanan hes the lather key of littill box

[1st June 1643.]

The quhilk Day, It is statuit and ordanit be the said decan and haill bretheren of craft that na man that hes bene prenteis to any brother of craft be ressauit to the friedome and libertie of the craft or to cum quhill first he pay to the fabrik and vphalding of ye craftis hous, in ye west burne vynd,[1] the sowme of ten pundis money, ffourtie schillingis to

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these all marked on the head with the price.' Here it is needful to remember that the price again was Scots denomination. 'Head' for the top crust is a term that has become obsolete. These rules were made to prevent the giving of undue discounts. At this time discount appears to have been given in cash or weight, and it is not until 1664 that we meet with 'the baker's dozen,' but then it is described as being 'contrair to the ancient ordour obserueit be the bretherin of this traid in former tymes.' In 1643 the Dundee trade agreed 'in co-sideratone of the gryt abuse committit in sellinge of breid by giwinge sevine or eicht schillingis to the twentie schillingis vurthe of breid without the towne, and by sellinge of their breid wtine the towne doune of the pryce that it beakine for, item it is statut and ordaned that none heirefter giwe any more to the breid sold wtout the towne excep four schillingis to twentie, and the breid sold wtine the towne sall be at no les reit than it was beakine for, excep the byer by ten shillingis wurthe yrof at ye leist, and in that caise to geitt no mor to it then is giwine to ye breid sold wtout the towne, wnder the paine of fourtie schillings, toties quoties, and passinge thrie faultis to be suspendit untill ye deconing and the Craftis fawour.'

[1] This is the only reference to the Craft's House, situated in the West Burn Wynd. Whether it was a building which had been left to them as a mortification, a house purchased as an investment, or a place maintained for trade purposes it is impossible to say. If it were of the last-mentioned character one would have supposed that the meetings of the craft would have been held in it, but that such was not the case is evident from no mention being made of it among the various places in which they were held.

the craftis seat and Tuentie schillingis to the morth claith, by and atour[1] the friedome siluer, sey drink, and speaking drink, and vther dewis.

Aucht Day of agust, 1643 zeiris.

The quhilk Day, Robert Walker, being decan, convenit with the remanent bretheren of the baxter craft for hearing and cognosching vpone the positouris comptis for the last zeir bygane, It is fund that the said positour is not awand nathing to the said craft for the last zeir nor na zeir preceiding; Nor zit the craft awand to the said positour, be thir presentis subscriuit with the said decan and certane his counsallouris, and lyk wayes subscriuit be the said Johnne Mortoun, positour, in signe and takin that thair is nothing awand to him.

[9th September 1643.]

Nomina consilii.

keiper of ye key of wreit kist, Andrew honyman
Robert Walker, ane key of ye box
key of ye box, Thomas buchannan
Jo^n^ mortoun, positour
Patrik valker

Wpone the xxv Day of Juni, 1644.

The quhilk day, James Browne, being decan, accompaniet with his bretheren vpone the gallowhill, for hearing the positour, Jo^n^ mortone his comptis, they find him to be awand to the craft xLis iiiid, quhilk the decan and bretheren ordaines to be payit Instantlie to James pitcarne, new Intrant positour.

[14th September 1644.]

Nomina consilii.

[James Brown, Deacon]

Androw honyman	Robert walker
Thomas buchannan	patrik valker
Jon mortoun	James Pitcairne
Patrik arthour	william lewingstoun
Thomas mounth	alex^r^ mortoun

[1] Over and above.

Tuentie ane Day of Januar, The yeir of god, Jajvjc ffourtie and fywe yeiris.

The generall annuellis addebtit be the persones efter specifiet To the baxter craft.

Imprimis be Dauid adamsone, furth of his Tenement in the new clos vi lib.

Item furth of george Murray, his tenement in the south gait xxvis. viiid.

Item furth of Johnne quheit, his Tenement in the Mercat gait xxs.

Item furth of James sword, his yaird in the north gait xvs.

Item furth of Johnne carstaris, maltman, in the south gait, his Tenement xs.

Item Androw dick, his yaird in the castell wynd[1] vs.

Item furth of James allane, his yaird callit the baik hous[2] vis.

Item furth of that yaird sumtyme pertening to vmquhile robert dewar in swallowgait[3] vs.

Item furth of Johnne punt, his tenement in colledge wynd[4] viiis.

Summa of the grund anuelis addebtit to the baxter craft in St androis Is xlib. xvs. viiid.

[5th June 1645.]

The quhilk day, James browne, being decan, accompaniet with the remanent bretheren of the traid, dischargit

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[1] Castle Wynd was a street connecting the Castle and North Street, and was known at one time as the Fisher Gate.

[2] In 1593 one of the elders' divisions of the city extended from the Parish Church east, including therein 'the haill Kirk Wynd, and Baikhous Clois.'

[3] Now known as the 'Scores', and before the above date as the Castle Gate. Regarding it, Lyon says, 'It has been generally asserted, on the authority of tradition, that what is now called the Scores (then Swallowgate) was an inhabited street; but my plans of the city (one of which is of 1642, and the other of an older though uncertain date) represent the Scores without a single house in it; and as lying, moreover, outside the Swallow Port, which was situated a very little to the west of the castle.' It looks as if this inventory of rents due to the craft supported 'the authority of tradition.'

[4] College Wynd was altered some years ago into College Street. It leads from Market Street into North Street.

that na brother of the said traid baik na pyis in no gentillman nor vomans hous[1] nor na vther hous in the citie, bot onlie in thair awin buithis, nor that they len nane of butclaithis[2] nor lumes[3] to buit thair fluir, vnder ye paine of xls toties quoties. Act aganis baikin of pyis in vther mens houss

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[1] This minute shows two side-lines of the trade, going out to bake pies, and lending bakehouse articles to private houses. In the *Account Book of Sir John Foulis* (Scottish History Society), p. 186, there is an entry, 20th December 1695, 'I have counted and cleared wt Charles Hay for 94 wheat silver and given a discharge for it and all preceiding and hes got a discharge for it from him of all baikings, pyes, flower, wheat and all clages and claimes qtsomever preceiding this dait.'

[2] Bakers did their own bolting, and these 'butclaithis' were the bolting-cloths, which they were thus debarred from lending out for private use. One of the first conditions of the York Ordinary was that a baker should 'have a good bulte clothe accordinge as becomethe for Wastell, Simnell, Payndemayn, and Cocket.' These were the best forms of bread made from finest flour.

'Let hit reune in iiij or vi bagges; gete them, if thow may,
of bultelle clothe.'

John Russells Boke of Nurture.

Before the Paris bakers were called *boulangers* they were known as *tamisiers* or *talmeliers*. The origin of the latter name is thus explained by Le Grand D'Aussy in the *Histoire de la Vie privée des François;* although mills have always been pretty much as they are to-day, they had not that ingenious machine called the bolting machine (bluteau), and whilst the wheat was reduced into flour, the miller took no pains with it, except in separating the flour from the bran. The bolting apparatus was at first very rough; it was a clear sheet (toile) of the kind called canvas. Then they invented sieves, which were made from different materials according to the countries; in Asia they were of silk threads, in Egypt, papyrus fibres or jonc, etc. The Gauls, according to Pliny, made theirs of horse hair, and this material is still used for them. So, as the flour, when it came from the mill, was not hulled, it was necessary to pass it through the sieve when it reached the owner's home. But when people wished to spare themselves that trouble they called in a baker, who by his provision was compelled to own sieves (tamis), and it is from that that these artisans were called *tamisiers* or *talmisiers*, and by corruption, *talmeliers*. There is a little brass plate in the Guildhall Museum, London, which is supposed to have served as an advertisement in the Corn Market, and bears the following notice: 'Abraham Bartlett Who makes ye Boulting mills and Cloathes Dwells at the sign of the Boulting mill in Thames street near Queen hith London 1678.'

[3] Lumes; utensils, tubs, or vessels. It was also written lomes or looms. The *Account Book of Sir John Foulis* (Scottish History Society) gives, 30th August 1680, 'to Adam foulis to give Jon Cuningham, couper in dean, for helping ye brewing loomes wn our father died £1. 9. 0;' and, 20th December 1705, 'payed to rot jonstoune Couper at Colintoune kirk, for his 3 yeirs at mertimes last, Salarie for mending and upholding the brewing and washing loomes, . . . and for a new count of new worklooms £2 4 0.'

Sewint day of Juni, 1645.

The quhilk day, James browne, being decan, accompenit with his bretheren of traid for heiring and cognosching vpone James pitcarne, positour to the traid, for this zeiris compt bygane as positour It is fund be the said decan and bretheren that the said James pitcarne is awand to the craft the sowme of Tuentie sext pund, quhilk he is deliuerit to william lewingstone, present positour, to be furthcumand be him to the traid.

[13th September 1645.]

Nomina consilii.

[James Brown, Deacon]

Androw honyman	Thomas mounth
robert walker	James pitcairne
patrik walker	Jo^{n} mortoun
W^{m} Lewingstoun	Peter Duncansone
patrik arthour	alex^{r} mortoun

1646.

keipars off ye keyis

Keipers of ye keyis of ye writ kist, Androw honymane, & of ye positors box, keiper of ye keyis, Rober walker & wiliame leuingstoun.

Penult day of Maii, 1646.

positour his compt allowit

The quhilk day, James browne, being decan, accompaniet with his bretheren of traid vpone the gallow hill for hearing and cognosching vpone william lewingstone, present positour for yis yeir bygane, the said decan and his bretheren of traid allowit the foirsaid compt, and thair is awand be him to the traid the sowme of xiii lib vs iiiid to be deliuerit to James pitcarne, present positour, to be furthcumand to ye vse of ye craft.

[12th September 1646.]

Nomina consilii.

[James Brown, Deacon]

Androw honyman	W^{m} lewingstone
Robert walker	Peter Duncansone

James Pitcarne — Thomas mount
Jo^n mortoun — Alex^r mortoun
Patrik arthour — Jo^n walker

ffourtein Agust, 1647.

Act anent elspit buchanan

The quhilk day, the positor and counsall of this traid for cognosching wpone ane complaint gewin be James browne, decan, aganis elspit buchanan, Beand that ye said elspit hed detenit ane seck fra the said James browne, and wtterit some Injuries speches againes him, quhilk wer prowin aganis hir, Wpone consideratione quharof the counsall ordanit the said elspit buchanan to content and pay for ye saidis offences the sowme fourtie schillingis, and not offend the decan nor na brother of traid at na tyme heirefter wnder the paine of Ten pundis Toties quoties schoe sall happin to contraveine.

[11th September 1647.]

Nomina consilii.

William lewingstoun, decan — Jon Myrtoun
James browne — Alex^r Myrtoun
Androw Honyman — Piter Duncansone
Robert walkar — Patrik Arthour
Ja pitcairne — Johnne walkar

Jon: Honyman

The fyftein day of September, 1647.

Positor comptis allowit

The quhilk day, William levingstoune, being decan, accompaniet with his brethrin of traid at the castill port, for heiring and cognoscing of James pitcairne, present positor for this zeir bygaine, the said decan and his brethrin of traid allowit the foirsaid compt, and thair is awand to him be the traid the sowme of vi lib xiiis vid, to be payit to him in the first end of the nixt zeiris compt.

Tuentie thrid day of ffebruar, 1648.

Walkar prenteis to Walkar

The quhilk day, William levingstone, decan of the baxteris in St androis, being accompaniet with his counsalleris vpone traid, Thomas Walkar, sone To thomas Walker, mer-

chant, sumtyme in St androis, Is admittit and ressauit prenteis and servand To Robert Walkar, baxter, citiner in the said citie, for the space of fyue zeiris of prenteschip and ane wyer zeir nixt and Immediatlie following the said fyue zeiris for mait and fie, quhilk in the haill extendis to fyue zeiris; and grissell Lumsdaine, mother to the said thomas Walkar, zoungar, payit all dewis conforme to the ordor of the said traid.

Thrid Junii, 1648.

Positor comptis allowit

The quhilk day, William lewingstoune, being decan, accompaniet with his bretherin of traid vpone the gallow hill, for heiring and cognosching of James pitcairne, present positor of his last zeiris compt, the said decan and his bretherin of traid allowit the said positor compt, And that yair is restand be the said James Pitcairne to the traid Tuelff lib xviis to be gewin be him to ye present positour.

vpone the Tuentie ane day of July, 1648.

The quhilk day, William lewingstone, being decan, accompaniet with his bretherin of traid, Considering that Thomas Wilsone, prenteis to piter duncansone, and george Jonstone, prenteis to Jon Walkar, being designit for the said traid to goe furth vpone the last expeditione and did run away away (sic)[1] Thairfoir it is statute and concludit that na brother of the said traid accept nor ressaue the said Thomas Wilsone and george Jonstone to ony seruice, quhill first they content & pay To ye said traid the sowme of Tuentie pundis, wnder the paine of Tuentie markis.

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[1] This forms one of the few references to public events, and the fine was imposed for breach of apprenticeship. But there must have been many cases of broken indentures, though they have not been registered; it may, therefore, be that the trade desired to show its disapproval of the expedition. It was a frequent rule, however, that if an apprentice went off 'vaiging to ony forrane natioune, or to ony vyer town,' he lost the advantages of his position. The 'expedition' may have referred to some trading project, or to some of the skirmishes in connection with the Scottish Army in England.

[8th September 1648.]

Nomina consilii.

W^m^ levingstone [Deacon]	James Pitcairne
Alex^r^ myrtoun	Jon myrtoun
James Browne	Piter Duncansone
Andro honyman	Patrik arthour
Ro^t^ walkar	Jon walkar

Jon Honyman

Wpone the saxtein day of februar, The zeir of god, Jajvjc fourtie nyne zeiris.

Act againes Jon Walkar

The quhilk day, William lewingstone, decan of the baxters, being convenit with his bretherin of traid vpone the gallowhill of the said citie, for heiring and cognoscing vpone ane bill and complaint offerit vp be the said William levingstone, James browne, James pitcairne, and Androw levingstone, Againes John Walkar, Makand mentione That quhair vpone tuesday last the said decan and his colleguis being in William geddies hous, vnmyndfull of ony wrang To Haue ben done to them, the said Jon Walkar as appeirit woid of the fear of god, did maist malitiouslie abus the said James browne in saying that he wes spending quietlie the thing he newar wan, and to the said William lewingstone, ze ar bot a kneaw, and did put violent hand in the said Androw lewingstone and strak him vpone the cheik with his hand, and strak and abuisit the said James pitcairne and almost woriet him with his ruiff,[1] And said that if he leiwit sewin zeir he wald be ane honester man nor ony baxter in St androis, As the said complaint in it selff at mair lenth proportis. The bretherin of the said traid, takand the samyne to yair consideratione, the foirsaid complaint being sufficientlie prowin, decernit and be thir presentis decerines, The said Jon Walkar To content and pay to the positor for the vse of the said traid, The sowme of Ten pundis, wsuall money of this realme, And debarit, and be thir presentis debaris, him fra conveing with them or voicing with them anent ony of the effairis of the said traid ay and quhill

[1] Probably roughness.

he mak ane mendis for the former faultis and all wthar faultis they have to lay to his chairge and pay the said sowme of Ten pundis.

xxvi May, 1649.

Alexr myrtoun his positor comptis Allowit

The quhilk day, William levingstone, being decan, and remanent [members] of the baxter traid, within the said citie being convenit, for heiring of the positor comptis, they all in ane voice allowit the same to him, and is fundin that they ar restin to the positor the sowme of fourtie four pundis xis. vid.

[15th September 1649]

Nomina consilii.

Wm Levingstone	Jon mortoun
Andro Honyman	Ja: Pitcairne
Iames browne	piter Duncansone
Rot Walkar	patrik Arthour
Alexr mortoun	Jon Bruce

vpone the Nyntein day of Apryll, 1650.

Anent sellis of wastellis To Tawerenes

The quhilk Day, William levingstone, being decan, accompaniet with his counsalleris of traid, Ratiefeit and approueit that act and ordinance maid in this buik vpone xxiii day of Junii 163 (sic) zeiris[1] Beand that nane fra this tyme furth sall baik ony kynd of wastellis or caikis, to be cuttit in four quarteris, nather to taveren, brouster, nor na wthar persone or persones to sell againe, vnder the paine of v lib toties quoties it beis fundin to Contravein the premisses.

[29th June 1650.

Jon Honyman his positour Comptis allowit

The quhilk day, william levingstone, being decan, accompaniet with his bretherin of traid, for heiring of Johnne Honymanes positor comptis, being convenit, efter revising and laying yairof, It is fund be them that yair is restin to the said Jon honyman mair nor he hes ressauit of The comon guid of the said traid the sowme of Tuentie four pundis quhilk they ordaine the present positor to pay to him.

[1] There is a blank in the MSS. between May 1559 and September 1563.

[13th September 1650.]

Nomina consilii.

Piter Duncansone, decan	Rot Walkar
William Lewingstone	Jon bruce
Ja: Browne	Jon bred
Alexr mortone	Patrik Arthour
Jon Honyman	Johnne mortoun
Ja: Pitcairne	

vpone the xxii day of Januar, 1651.

The quhilk day, thair is delyuerit in custodie to piter duncansone, decan, Thrie muskitis with ane bandelier pertenig to the traid.

vpone the Tuentie fyue day of Januar, Jajvjc and fiftie zeiris.

Act in favouris off Johnne Walkar

The quhilk day, Piter Duncansone, decan, and his bretherin of traid, Jon Walkar Is acceptit and ressauit Counsallar to the decan and to the haill preueledges thairof as he wes befoir the act maid aganis him quhen William levingstone wes decan, and hes dischairgit him of the haill contentis of the said act for euir, Becaus the said Jon Walkar being present submittit him selff for albygaines.

Last may, 1651.

William Kenlowie Officer

The quhilk day, Piter Duncanesone, being decan, accompaniet with his bretherin of traid, James Walkar, quha sould haue serueit as officer to this traid for a zeir to come, hes gewin contentment to the decan and traid for his zeiris seruice. In respect quharof they dischairge him yairof, And Hes acceptit, and be yir presentis acceptis, William kenlowie, as officer to the said traid for a zeir to Come, it being his pairt to succeid as officer to the said traid, And the said William maid faith de fideli administratione as vse is.

[13th September 1651.

Nomina consilii.

Piter Duncansone, decan	James pitcairne
James Browne	Jon walkar

William levingstone — Jon Bred
Johnne mortoun — Jon Bruce
Alexr mortoun — Robert Walkar
Johnne Honyman
Pa : Walkar
Pa : Arthour

vpone the second day of september, 1652.

Jon Walkar his positour comptis allowit

The quhilk day, Piter Duncansone, being decan, accompaniet with his bretherin of traid, for heiring and revising of the positor comptis, they find the samen trew and Lawfull, and that thair restis to the positor, Johnne Walkar, the sowme of Tuelff pundis, quhilk they ordaine to be payit to him out of the readiest of the patrimonie of the traid.

Anent the selling of the Gramer scooll

The quhilk day, Piter Duncansone, decan, and Alexander mortoun, positor, Intimat and declairit to the bretherin that they, with thair consentis, had sauld, annaliet, and disponit to Androw Adamsone in brounhillis, the gramer scooll,[1] with the pertinentis, for the sowme of ffour hundereth and fourscoir markis, money scotis, quharof they haue ressauit the sowme of Ane hundereth pundis in hand, quhich payit ane hundereth pundis awand to Jon Honyman, And have ressauit band for the remanent to mertimes nixt, ffor the quhich the traid renderis the decan and positor heartie thankis.[2]

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[1] How, and under what circumstances, the trade became possessors of the Grammar School is not mentioned in the minutes, and references to the School, which appears to have been overshadowed by the University, are not numerous elsewhere. If in 1652 the bakers disposed of the building, it must have been in their possession for some time, and it may be conjectured that a new one had been acquired. It could not have been much of an improvement, for in 1715 the pupils were 'necessitat to wreatt upon the floor, lying upon ther bellies.' A new Grammar School was erected in 1743.

[2] There were few formal recorded thanks in those days, and this entry is therefore interesting. No other appears until the closing days of the association. In the dark days of 1861, the trade engrossed its best thanks to the agent of the Clydesdale Bank at St. Andrews, and its Manager and Directors at Glasgow, for assisting them out of 'a most distressing and painful business.' Dundee bakers were more grateful, and more practical in showing appreciation. In 1775, to mark their recognition of the great trouble taken by the Deacon during his management, they unanimously voted him a suit of clothes of the value of four pounds. Even some modern testimonials are not so useful.

The quhilk day, Piter Duncansone, decan, and remanent bretherin of traid, statutis, concludis, and ordanis that thair positor comptis sall be futit[1] in all tyme cuming aucht dayis befoir the election of the positor. Anent futing of the positor comptis

[3rd September 1652.]

Nomina consilii.

Piter Duncansone	Jon Honieman	Jon mortoun
Ja: Broune	Jon Bred	Jon Walkar
Alexr Mortoun	Ja: pitcairne	Jon Bruce
Wm levingstoun	Pa: Walkar	Jon Broun

second day of Junii, 1653.

The quhilk day, piter duncansone, being decan, accompaniet with his bretherin of traid, being convenit for Heiring and revising of the positour comptis, they find the samen Reall and trew, And that Alexr Myrtoun, positour, is restand to the traid the sowme of sax pund xviiis. vid. Alexr mortoun his comptis allowit

[11th September 1653.]

Nomina consilii.

William levingstoun, decan	Jon Walkar
Ja: Broun	Jon Bruce
piter Duncansone	Jon Broun
Johnne Bred	Patrik Walkar
Jon mortoun	Ja: Pitcairne
Alexr mortoun	Rot Walkar

Ja: Walkar, zoungar

[18th May 1654. Audit: owing to the Trade fifty four pounds, Scots.]

[9th September 1654.]

Nomina consilii.

Wm levingstoun, decan	Alexr mortoun
Ja: Broun	Ja: pitcairne
Piter Duncansone	Jon Bruce

[1] Audited.

Jo: Bred	Jon Broun
Rot Walkar	Pa: Walkar
Jon mortoun	Alex[r] mounth

[7th June 1655. Audit: owing to the Trade fifty-seven pounds, fifteen shillings.]

[14th September 1655.]

Nomina consilii.

Piter Duncansone	Alex[r] mounth
William levingstoun	Jon Bruce
Ja: Broun	Pa: Walkar
Jon Mortoun	Jo: Broun
Ja: pitcairne	Rot Walkar
Jon Bred	Ja: Walkar

Tuentie nynt day of May, 1656.

Act aganis selleris of bread too scheap

The quhilk day, Piter Duncansone, beang decan, accompaniet with his bretherin of traid, William kenlowie, ane of the bretherin of the said traid, being accusit and convict of selling of bread too cheap, in hurt and prejudice to the remanent of the said traid, for preventing of the lyk in tyme cuming, It is statute, concludit, and ordanit that the said William, nor na wthar brothar of the said traid, presum nor tak vpone hand to sell or vent ony bread bot conforme to the accustumat Raitis, And that wnder the paine of ten pundis to be payit be the contraveineris of this present act toties quoties wnforgiwin.[1]

[15th June 1656. Audit: owing to the Positor thirty-two shillings, Scots.]

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[1] These (and for long after) were the happy days when men had to conform to the prices set by the magistrates, and within the margin, when there was one, of what was taken by their fellows. On 5th November 1731 the Glasgow Incorporation regulated the prices of bread, in consequence of the fact that some members had been 'in use' to sell their bread at a lower price than that allowed by the magistrates, to the prejudice of those who gave weight and quality. The fines were to be allotted to the poor of the craft.

[12th September 1656.]

Nomina consilii.

Pa: Walkar, decan	Jon Bred
W^m levingstoun	Jon Broun
piter Duncansone	Ro^t Walkar
Jon Bruce	Ja: Walkar
Ja: pitcairne	Jon mortoun
Alex^r month	

Nyntein day of November, 1656.

Act Aganis Johnne Mortoun

The quhilk day, the bretherin of the baxter traid being convenit vpone the gallowhill of the citie of St androis, Considdering that Johnne myrtoun, ane of the bretherin of the said traid, being this day accusit and convict of drawin ane knyff to Patrik walkar, thair present decan, and awowing to leaue him vpone the hill, It is statute and concludit That if the said Johnne myrtoun, or ony wthar brothar of the said traid, sall attempt the lyk in tyme cuming, He or they sua offending to be Immediatlie depryweit of thair liberitis in all tyme thairefter.

[21st May 1657. Audit: owing to the Trade twenty-five shillings and twopence.]

Wpone the Tuentie thrid day of Junii, jajvjc fiftie sewin zeiris.

Act Anent the Welvit mort cloathis

The quhilk day, James cuthbert Being decan warner, and Patrik walkar, decan of this traid, It is aggriet and conludit vpone betuix the hamermen, wrichtis, tailzouris, schoe makeris, and flescharis, To quhom ane meikill and littill morth cloath of welwit belongis; And the baxteris to quhom ane mort cloath of blak cloath apperteins, Laitlie maid, That the saidis velvit mortcloathis and remanent mort cloathis belonging to the saidis hamermen, wrichtis, tailzouris, schoe makeris, and flescharis, And the saidis baxteris thair mortcloathis, shall in all tyme cuming Be in comone amongis the hamermen, wrichtis, tailzouris, baxteris, schoe makeris, and flescharis, in all tyme cuming. And the benefitt and commoditie of

the quholl mortcloathis a foirsaid To come to the vse of the saidis sax traidis proportionallie in all tyme heireftar. Mairower it is concludit that quhat brothar of the saidis sax traidis sall first desyr the vse of the saidis welvit mortcloathis shall be first serueit.

[11th September 1657.]

Nomina consilii.

Patrik Walkar [Deacon]	Rot Walkar
W^m^ Levingstoun	Jon Bred
Piter Duncansone	Jon mortoun
James pitcairne	Jon Broun
Jon Bruce	Ja: Walkar
Alex^r^ Month	Johnne Honyman

James Walkar, zoungar

[10th June 1658. Audit: owing to the Positor twenty-four pounds and eightpence, Scots.]

[10th September 1658.]

Nomina consilii.

Pa: Walkar, decan	Robert Walkar
W^m^ Levingstoun	Jon Bred
Piter Duncansone	Jon mortoun
Ja: pitcairne	Jon Broun
Jon Bruce	Ja: Walkar
Alex^r^ month	Jon Honyman

Ja: Walkar, zoungar
Andro Walkar

vpone the Tuentie day of October, Jajvjc fiftie aucht zeiris.

Act aganis Robert Walkar

The quhilk day, Patrik Walkar, being decan, and convenit with his haill bretherin of traid, Robert Walkar, ane of the bretherin thairof, being accusit and convict of mixing of eatmaill and flour and selling the samen in bread, ffor preventing the lyk in tyme cu[m]ing, It is statute and concludit, with thair haill consent, that the said Robert Walkar nor na wthar brothar presum nor tak vpone hand to attempt or doe

the lyk in tyme comeing, it being disgraicefull and making honest bretherin of the said traid to be in the lyk errour, And that wnder the paine of Ten pund toties quoties ony sall doe the lyk in tyme cuming.

[2nd June 1659. Audit: owing to the Trade forty-eight shillings, Scots.]

[10th September 1659.]

Nomina consilii.

William Levingstoun, decan	Ja: pitcairne
Patrik Walkar	Jon mortoun
Johnne Bruce	Jon Broun
Jon Honyman	Ja: Walkar (m)
Jon Bred	Ja: Walkar (z)
Alex^{r} mounth	Andro Walkar

Da: Broun

Wpone the Tuentie sevint day of March, 1660.

Act dischairging beaking of eat bread

The quhilk day, William Levingstoun, being decan, accompaniet with his bretherin of traid, It is statuit & concludit with thair haill consentis, that na brothar nor brotharis relict sall presum nor tak vpone hand vnder quhatsumeuir cullour or pretence at ony tyme Heireftar to baik ony eat Bread, except only quheit and ry bread; And that wnder the paine of Sax pund. And the maister of the baikhous quha baikis ony eat bread to ony brothar or brotharis relict without acquenting the decan yairof to pay fourtie schillingis, And the decan (the decan) not to consent yairto without acquenting of his bretherin yairof, wnder the paine of ffour pundis.

[20th June 1660. Audit: owing by the Trade twenty-one pounds, seventeen shillings, and fourpence, Scots.]

[14th September 1660.]

Nomina consilii.

Piter Duncansone [Deacon]	Jon Browne
W^{m} Levingstoun	Jon Bred
Patrik Walkar	Jon Honyman

[13th June 1661.]

[Audit: owing to the Positor thirty-eight pounds, nineteen shillings, and eightpence.]

This day, the said piter duncansone being decan, thair wes borrowit fra Johnne Honyman, The sowme of Ane Hundereth merkis, scotis money, quharof payit to Johnne Honyman sevin pundis xiiiis. 4d.; To Johnne Bruce, Threttein pund xviis. 4d.; To Johnne Broun, positour, the aboue written sowme of Threttie aucht pundis xixs. iiiid., restand be the traid to the foirnameit persones, quharof the foirnameit Jon honyman, Johnne bruce, and Johnne broun dischairgis the traid. And thair is fund restand of the foirsaid sowme of Ane Hundereth merkis, fourtie aucht schillingis payit To Dauid Adamsone, tailzour, ffor ane zeiris annuall rent of ffourtie pund, fra witsonday, 1660, To witsonday, 1661 zeiris; The sowme of Thrie pund, fourtein schillingis, aucht penneis, quhilk is delyuerit to Jon broun, present positour, to be furth cumand in his nixt zeiris comptis.

Johne bruce
Jo broun

Ita est patricius Reid notarius publicus in premissis requisitus de mandato dicti Joannis honyman scribere nescientis ut asseruit assero Pa: Reid No: pub.

[13th September 1661.]

Nomina consilii.

Pa: Walker [Deacon]	W^m^ Honyman
W^m^ levingstoun	Ja: Walker
piter duncansone	Jon Bruce
Jon Broun	Ja: pitcairne
Johnne honyman	Jon bred
Ja: Walker med:	Da: Broun
Andro Walker	Tho: Walker

[22nd May 1662. Audit: owing to the Positor seventeen pounds, eighteen shillings, and eightpence.]

25 Junii, 1662.

This day Johnne broun payit of the aboue written sowme of xvii lib. xviiis. viiid. and dischairgis the traid yairof.

J Broune.

[— September 1662.]

Nomina consilii.

Wm Levingstoun, decan	Andro Walker
Pa: Walkar	Alexr month
Da: Broun	Jon Broun
Piter Duncanson	Ja: Walker
Jon Bruce	Jon Bred
Ja: pitcairne	Tho: Walker
Jon Myrtoun	Wm Honyman

Tuentie fyft December, 1662.

Act aganis Jon browne

The quhilk day, William Levingstoun, being decan, accompaniet with his counsall of traid, takand to thair consideratione the complaint gewin in to them Aganis Johnne Broun Be Jon Bred; The said Johnne broune haueing callit the said Jon Bred ane fals, perjurit kneaw; ffor preventing the lyk in tyme cu[m]ing It is statute and ordanit That if at ony tyme heirefter the [said] Johnne broun sall offend or Injure the said Jon bred or ony wther brother of the said traid [he sall] Pay Ten merkis toties quoties vnforgiven, and yat na brother of the said traid sall offend or Injure the said Jon broun wnder the foirsaid penaltie.

[18th June 1663. Audit; owing to the Positor seventeen pounds, nineteen shillings, and sixpence.]

[11th September 1663.]

Nomina consilii.

Pa: Walkar [Deacon]	Ja: Walkar
Wm Levingstoun	Da: Broun
Piter Duncansone	Jon Bruce

ix Junii, 1664.

The quhilk day, David Broun his positor comptis being sein and considered, ar fund treu and cleir, and thair restis to

David Broun his positor compts

the said David Broun, vi lib. xviiis., which, with seivintein pundis, nyntein shillingis, sex pennies, restin to him of his accomptis for the yeare 1663, maks alltogither tuentie ffour punds, seivintein shillingis, sex pennies money, which is to be payed with all convenience.

M R Black Cls.

15 Nor 1664 payit be band Dawid Broune.

[10th September 1664.]

Nomina consilii.

Ja: Walkar, Decan	Wm Honyman
Pa: Walkar	Da: Broun
Alexr month	Jon Broun
Jon Bred	J. [blank.]

Wpone the fyftein day of November, 1664.

The quhilk day, James Walkar, being decan, accompaniet with his bretherin of traid, takand to thair considderatione the gryt abuiss that daylie increaseth among the bretherin of this traid by giueing ane leaff to the dussone, contrair to the ancient ordour obserueit be the bretherin of this traid in former tymes,[1] ffor preventing of the lyk in tyme

[1] 'The Bakers' Dozen' does not appear to be an old institution in Scotland. The above entry shows it to have been at that date an innovation that was not appreciated in St. Andrews. Even at a much later period (1772) in Aberdeen, the trade took into its consideration a practice, which it was stated had of late prevailed, in selling bread at the rate of thirteen for the dozen, and declared that any member doing so should be declared incapable of holding office. In Dundee, 5th June 1725, the trade 'by ane unanimous vote, condescends that non shall give no more butt therteen for the duson of bread, except that it be to Baxters or Baxters wifs.' In the lines already quoted from *Artachthos* (1638) thirteen is referred to as being recognised as the bakers' dozen, and long before that it was recognised, for in the time of Edward I. one of the London Acts provided that 'no baker of the town shall give unto the regratresses [female retailers] the sixpence on Monday morning by way of hansel-money, or the three pence on Friday for curtesy money; but after the ancient manner, [let him give] thirteen articles of bread for twelve.' On 10th March 1551, it was agreed in York, 'that from hensforth suche as be free of bakers crafte within this Citty, shall not bake after xiijd. or xiiijd. to the dowzen for the Hucksters to sell againe, but shall put such advantage in ther bread to sell after xijd the dowzen.' Two months afterwards selling to hucksters was prohibited altogether, under pain of six shillings and eightpence payable by the baker, and twelve pence by the huckster. In 1595, however, it

cuming It is statuit, concludit, and ordanit that quhat sumeuir brother or brotheris relict sall ather be themselffis, thair bairnes, servantis, or ony wtheris in thair names, giue ane Leaff to the dusson or ony wther commoditie in recompens yairof, sall pay fyue pund toties quoties, And that nane sell bot conforme to the common statutis sett furth be the Magistratis from tyme to tyme. And that ilk brother or brother relict Mark thair bread with thair name and surname.[1] And

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was registered that no one should sell to the 'inholders, harborers, hostlers, or to anye other manner of customer but thirtene pennye worthe of breade for xijd. And to give none other gifte nor reward prevelye nor openlye or more weight than the iust assise, for the oppressinge of the bretheren of the same fellowshippe, upon payne of imprisonment' and fine. Rule 17 of the *Black Book of Coventry* provides that no member of the fellowship should sell to anyone 'any maner of breade above, under, or otherwise, then after the rate of 13 penyworthe for 12d. with the ordynary custome used to their customers, nor shall sell above 7 horseloves for 2d., nor shall make nor sell any table breade under the weighte of a 3d loafe.' This was in 1623, but at a later date the same rule was ratified, with the exception that the dozen of thirteen had extended to fourteen. Thirteen used to be called 'the Devil's dozen,' but a French Folklorist, M. Sebillot, says, that after the Devil had served his time the people substituted for his name that of the baker.

[1] The requirement of a distinctive stamp upon bread is a very old one. Its purpose was to enable easy detection of the maker if any deficiency or fault was found in the loaf. At a time when bakers, and few of their customers were able to read, the marking was sometimes fantastic and often simple. In London bakers, both of white and brown bread, had to have a particular stamp. The Alderman of each ward had to inspect the stamps or seals as they were called. An impression of the stamp was made upon the Alderman's paper, and the baker had to pay fourpence for the registration; but if no change of Alderman had taken place since the impression had been registered no further charge was made. The *Old Usages of Winchester*, the MSS. of which is supposed to date from the 14th Century, provides 'that euerych bakere habbe hys seal y-knowe vpon hys loff, that he ne mowe with-segge zif he is of take other than weel.' The marks on the loaves of the York bakers had a peculiar meaning. Every tradesman had his own proper mark, and if it were not imposed on his bread he was fined forty pence. If at any time his bread were found light weight the baker was put on the pillory, and from thenceforth his mark was put twice on his bread, so that his customers might be put upon their guard to be particular in their dealings with one who had transgressed the law. For a second offence of the same kind his punishment was repeated, but if his failings were discovered a third time the punishment was extreme; if his oven was his own property it was pulled down, his bread was forfeited, and he was expelled from the trade for ever. In 1398 the Aberdeen bakers were forced to adopt a series of marks, and at a later date some were drawn opposite the names of the bakers in the Council Register. The designs were very rude,

that nane carie bread from thair hous or buith, wnder the paine of fourtie schillingis to ony Inhabitant within this citie, And in testimonie of thair consentis to the premiss the said Decan and bretherin Hes subscriuit thir presentis as followis:

Alexander month	James Walker Decan	Patrik Walker
Johene brwce	W Honyman	I . B
Dawid Broune	Thomas Walker	I . P : A W
	John Laweston	V K
Pa: Reid Cls.	James Morton	
	Myrtoun	

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being composed of variations and combinations of crosses, circles, and dots. The same custom prevailed in Germany and France. The 45th Article of Police, 27th November 1702. prescribed that each baker should have a different and certain mark, which was registered at the police office; and, in addition, the weight of the loaf was also stamped upon it. The bakers of Saint-Germain-des-Prés were compelled (March 1659) to confine the character of their manufactures to certain types of loaves, which loaves were to be marked with stamps, each master having a mark different from the others, and being compelled to submit it to the municipality (le greffe de ce bailliage), where it was copied and the copy kept for use if occasion required. In Ingolstadt each baker had two marks, one for small bread and another, and much more elaborate, for large loaves. The latter are the most artistic of any I have seen reproduced. The former were simply dots variously arranged so that the owners could be recognised, but the more important were of various designs. The following are some of the representations, the letters being the initials of the owners. Bakers

are still compelled by law to stamp their bread with a Roman M if the flour from which it is made is other than wheaten, but the law is not enforced. In England no mark appears on the loaf unless at the option of the baker, but in Scottish burghs each loaf (other than Fancy or French) has to be stamped with the weight which it is supposed to scale.

[25th May 1665. Audit: owing to the Positor fifty-two shillings and eightpence.]

[15th September 1665.]

Nomina consilii.

James Walker [Deacon] — John Bruce
Patrick walker — John Bred
David Broun — Alex^{r} Mount

[18th September 1666.]

Nomina consilii.

Da: Broun, decan — Tho: Walkar, box M^{rl}
Ja: Walker — Ja: pitcairne
Pa: Walkar — Jon Bred
Jon Bruce — Jon Mortoun
W^{m} Honyman — Jon Broun
Ja: Mortoun
Jon Levingstoun

Wpone the Tuentie tua Day of ffebruarii, jajvjc. Sextie sewin zeiris.

THE quhilk day, James Walkar being decan convener of the traidis of St androis, Thair being convenet with him vpone the gallow hill of the said citie William ffowellis, decan of wrichtis, Dawid Broun, decan of the baxteris, Robert Graham, Decan of the tailzeouris, Dawid Low, Decan of the schoemakeris, James Peatie, Decan of the veaveris, and Thomas Measone, Decan of the fleschouris, and thair counsellouris associattis, To the said Decan convener for taking ordour with Alexander Pryd, Decan of the hamer men, ffor violatting and breaking that act and ordinance maid in this buik vpone the Tuentie thryd day of September, jajvc ffour scoir sextein zeiris, quharby it is statut and concludit that nae decan nor brother complaine to nae wther judge nor judgis quhill first the complainer offer his complaint to his owin traid, and if the traid does not tak ordor thair with, that they complaine to the Decan convener, and if the Decan convener

[1] This is the first use of the term Boxmaster.

takis not ordor thair with, it sall be leisome to the complainer To complaine to any wther judge; Contrair quhair to the said Alexander Pryd hath att his owin hand causit imprisone James Kay, ane of his brethrin, with out convening his counsell or brethrin for heiring the persone who as the (sic) aledget had wrongit his traid. The said Alexander pryd and his brethrin being accusit be the said Decan convener and his foirsaidis for violatting of the said act, He for himselfe was convincit That he had violat the samen and severall of his brethrin acknowledged He had no alowance from them for sutch actings Bot quhat they were vrgit to. ffor preventing of the Lyk in tyme comeing, the said Decane convener and his foirsaidis decernis and ordaines that if att any tyme heirefter The said Alexander pryd or any wther brother of the Sewin traidis shall offer vp any complaint against ane wther, that the decan shall convein his traid att the least his counsell, and if the complenar or defendar gettis not Satisfactione be the decanis court They shall complaine to nae wther judge, bott only to the decan convener and his counsell and thair to be determinat bot appellatione or declinator, And that nae Decan presume nor tak vpone hand to poynd or imprisone any member of thair severall traidis quhill first the pairtie complanit vpone be Lawfullie warnit personallie or att his dueling his house To compeir vpone the hill or any wther place the said Decan shall appoynt To heir and sie the complaint givin in against him; and ordaines thir presenttis to stand as ane vnalterable for keeping of vnitie in tyme comeing; and the said Decan or Decanis transgressing the premises To pay the sowme of Ten pundis, scottis money, toties quoties, vnforgivin, and ordaines thir presenttis to be insert in the severall traidis buikis with in this citie wnder the subscriptione of Patrik Reid, thair clark, In witnes quhairof the said Decan convener and remanent Decan foirsaidis hes subscryvit the samen with thair handis, day, moneth, and zeir of god foirsaid. Sic Subscribitur James Walker, Decane convener, William ffowellis, Deken of wrichtis, Dawid Broun, Deken of the bakeris, Ro: Graham, D.T., Dawid low, Decan of the schoe-

makeris, James Peatie, Decan veaveris, Thomas measone, Deken flescheris, A. Pryd, D.H., heu freu, positor to the Hamermen, Pa: Reid, Cls. dict. artium premiss. assero; extractit furth of the Decan convener buik be me,

Pa: Reid, Cls.

[6th June 1667. Audit: Boxmaster due seventeen shillings and sixpence.]

[20th September 1667.]

Nomina consilii.

Dauid broun, Decan
Ja: Walker, conveiner
Tho: Walker, box Mr
Pa: Walker
Jon Bred
Wm Honyman
Johnne Bruce
Ja: pitcairne
Ja: Myrtoun
Jon Broun
Jon Levingstoun

[21st May 1668. Audit: Boxmaster due nine pounds and tenpence.]

[18th September 1668.]

Nomina consilii.

Da: Broun, Decan
Ja: Walkar, conveiner
Patrik Walkar
Jon Bruce
Jon Bred
Ja: Mortoun
Tho: Walkar

[22nd May 1669. Audit: owing to Boxmaster forty-five shillings and fourpence.]

[17th September 1669.]

Nomina consilii.

Pa: Walker, Decan
Ja: Walker
Da: Broun
Ja: Mortoun
Jon Broun
Jon Bruce

[26th May 1670. Audit: owing to Boxmaster four pounds ten shillings, and tenpence.]

[16th September 1670.]

Nomina consilii.

Pa: Walkar [Deacon]
John Broun

Ja: Walkar
Da: Broun
Jon Levingstoun
Jon Bruce
Jon bred, eldar
John Morton
Thomas Walker
James Morton
Wiliam kenloue
John Bred, yonger

[15th June 1671. Audit: Trade due boxmaster twenty-three pounds and tenpence, Scots.]

Wpone the ffirst day of ffebruarij, jajvjc. three-scoir tuelfe zeiris.

The quhilk day, the abowe written sowme of tuentie three pundis, 10d., scottis, restin be the baxter traid to John Livingstoun, thair last box maister, of his box maister comptis, is payit to him be the traid, and the said Johne Livingstoun dischairgis the said baxter traid of the same for now and ever, subscryvit be me

John Livingston.

[15th September 1671.]

Nomina consilii.

Jon broun, decan
Da: Broun
Pa: Walker
Jon Bruce
Wm kenlowie
Ja: Mortoun
Tho: Walker
Jon Levingstoun
Jon bred

[29th May 1672. Audit: owing to Boxmaster forty-seven pounds, four shillings, and fourpence, Scots.]

[6th June 1672.]

The foirsaid day, the foirsaid sowme of ffourtie sewin pundis, iiiis., iiiid., is payet to the said W^m^ kinlowie and he dischairges the traid thairof.

De mandato predicti Gulielmi kinlowie scribere nescientis (vt asseruit) Ego Jacobus Reid notarius publicus in premissis requisitus calamum tangen. subscribo

Ja: Reid No: Pub:

[22nd September 1672.]

Nomina consilii.

Jon bruce, decan	Ja: Myrtoun
Dauid broun, convenier	Thomas Walkar
Jon Broun	Johne Bread
Wm kenlowie	Johne Livingstoun
Pa: Walker	

[29th May 1673.]

The samen day, William kinlowie hes receaved from the traid compleit payment of the soume of 12 lib. 13s. restin be the traid to him of his last zeiris comptis, and all bygain comptis payet to him, And hes instantlie, in presence of the wholl brethrin of traid, receaved from the decan sex pundis, 16s. 4d.

[19th September 1673.]

Nomina consilii.

Jon bruce, decan	Wm keinelowie
Da: Broun	James Myrtoun
Pa: Walkar	Johnne Levingstoun
Jon Broun	Johnne Bred
Tho: Walkar	Dauid Leitch

Wpone the tuentie tuo day of Maij, 1674 zeiris. The quhilk day, Johne Bruce, being decan of this traid, convenit with his haill brethrin of traid, for taking ordour with William kinlowie, box maister to the traid, anent severall offences, wrongs, and injuries givin be him, and in particular for takin instrumentis and protestatione against the said Johne Bruce, decan, and Thomas walker, ane brother of traid. And the said William kinlowie haveing acknoledge and confest his fault to the said decan and brethrin of traid, Thairfor the said decan and haill brethrin of traid for keeping of vnitie, peace, and good ordour in all tyme, statutis, concludis, and ordaines that quhatsomever brother of traid in any tyme comeing shall tak instrumentis or (sic) protestatione against the decan or brethrin of traid to pay the sowme of Ten pundis scottis, toties quoties, vnforgivin, for the vse and behove of the traid.

29 maij, 1674 zeiris.

The quhilk day, William kinlowie, box maister to the baxter traid, his box maister comptis be hard and seen be Johne Bruce, decan, and haill brethrin of traid, they all, in ane voyce, findis the samen trew and lawfull, and that the traid restis to him conforme to his comptis subscryvit be the decan and counsell this presentt dait the sowme of sewin pundis, elewin schilling, 2d.; quhilk soume is payet to the said W^m^ kinlouie and dischairgis the traid of the samen.

[18th September 1674.]

Nomina Consilii.

Johne Bruce, decan	Johne Broun
David Broun	Johne livingstoun
Patrick Walkar	Thomas Walkar

[29th May 1675. Audit: owing to Boxmaster twenty-eight pounds, one shilling.]

17 day of September, 1675.

The said samen day, Johne livingstoun is payet of the abowe written sowme of 28 lib. 1s., and dischairges the traid of the samen for ever. subscryvit be me as ffolowes,

John Liwingstone.

[19th September 1675.]

Nomina consilii.

Johne Bruce, Decan	Johne livingstoun
David Broun	James Mortoun
Patrick Walkar	Thomas Walkar
Johne Broun	W^m^ kinlouie

Wpone the Eightein day of September, jajvjc three-scoir ffyftein zeiris.

Act anent keeping of good ordour

The quhilk day, Johne Bruce, being decan, accompainet with his brethrin of traid, anent William Kinlowie, quharby the said William in presence of the said decan and brethrin hes givin to the said decan and severall brethrin of traid many opprobritios speeches and evill wordis, by givin the said decan the lie and wther wordis (not worthie to be putt in wreit,)

and the said William all wayes being zeit vnwilling and rebellious in acknowledging his fault and submitting himselfe to the said decan and his counsell, and for keeping of peace, vnitie, and good concord amongst the remanent brethrin of traid, and that all contraversies and debeatis mey be abeatit in tyme comeing, the said decan and brethrin of traid, all with ane consent and assent, be thir presenttis, secludis and debaris the said William kinlowie from all priveleges and liberties of the said traid by baiking any sort of bread, great or small; and that nae brother or any comone servant of traid shall help the said W^m^ kinlowie in baiking of ane bread or to have any corespondence with him in buying, bloocking, selling, and that ay and quhill he submitt himselfe to the said decan and acknouledg his offence; and it is farder statut and ordainet that whatever brother of traid in all tyme comeing att quhat ever meitting of traid, privat or publict, shall give any offencive word, To pay the soume of Ten pund scottis for the vse of the said traid, toties quoties, vnforgivin. Notwithstanding of the clause of seclusione abowewritten the said W^m^ kinlowie hes submittit himselfe to the decan and counsell and givin satisfactione thairfor and is restorit to his former liberties of traid.

[29th May 1676. Audit: owing Boxmaster nineteen pounds, nineteen shillings, Scots.]

Tuentie day of junij, 1676.

The samen day, Johne livingstoun is payet of the sowme of 19 lib. 19s., restin to him be the traid of his last zeiris box maister comptis, conforme to ane act written one the wther syd and dischairges the said baxter traid of the foirsaid soume for nou and ever, subscryvit be me Johne livingstoun, day, moneth, and zeir of god, foirsaid.

John Liwestone.

[15th September 1676.]

nomina consilii.

Patrick Walkar, decan
David Broun
W^m^ kinlouie
Thomas Walkar

Johne Bruce — James Mortoun
Johne Broun — Johne Duncansone

[29th May 1677. Audit: owing Boxmaster fourteen pounds, thirteen shillings.]

[14th September 1677.]

Nomina consilii.

Patrick Walkar, decan — Thomas Walkar
David Broun — Johne Broun
Johne Bruce, elder — Johne Duncansone

12 october 1678.

The quhilk day, William Kinlouie grantis him to be compleitlie payet of the abowewritten soume of 14 lib. 13s., and dischairgs the said baxter traid thairof for ever

V K

29 maij, 1678.

The quhilk day, Patrick Walkar, being decan, accompainet with his brethrin of traid, for cleiring of Johne Duncanson, thair box maister, his box maister comptis, from the electione 1677 to the electione 1678, they all, in ane voyce, findis the samen treu and laufull in oneratione and exoneratione, and that the traid restis to him the soume of 19 lib. 9s. conforme to his subscryvit comptis.

Ja: Reid: Cls.

the soume of 19 lb. 9s. payet.

John Duncanson.

[20th September 1678.]

Nomina consilii.

James Mortoun, Decan — Johne Broun
David Broun — Johne Duncansone
Patrick Walkar — William kinlouie
Johne Bruce, elder — Johne Bruce, zounger
Piter Duncansone — Johne Mortoun

[29th May 1679. Audit: owing Boxmaster twenty-eight pounds, seventeen shillings, and fourpence, and discharge for same.]

[19th September 1679.]

Nomina consilii.

James Mortoun, Decan
David Broun, convener
Patrick Walkar
Johne Bruce, elder
Johne Broun
Johne Bruce, zounger

[29th May 1680. Audit: owing Boxmaster nine pounds, eleven shillings.]

[17th September 1680.]

Nomina consilii.

James Mortoun, decan
David Broun, convener
Patrick Walker
Johne Bruce, elder
Johne Broun
Johne Duncansone
Johne Bruce, zoungar

[30th May 1681. Audit: owing Boxmaster seventeen pounds, Scots, and discharge for payment of the sum.]

[16th September 1681.]

Nomina consilii.

James Mortoun, decan
David Broun
Patrick Walkar
Johne Bruce, elder
Johne Broun
Johne Duncansone
Piter Duncansone
Johne Johnstoun

[29th May 1682. Audit: owing Boxmaster fourteen pounds, nineteen shillings, and fourpence.]

Wpone the 30 day of maij, 1682.

The Quhilk day, James Mortoun, being decan, and haill remanent brethrin of the baxter traid in St androis, being convenit, taking to thair serious consideratione thé veill fair vtilitie and profeit of the said traid and that the traid att present is mightilie in debt, restin be them to certain creditoris and that the patrimonie of the said baxter traid is nou exaustit; Thairfor it is heirby statut, concludit, and ordainet be the said decan and haill brethrin of traid, with Mutuall consent and assent, all in ane voyce, that all brethrin of traid present and in tyme comeing entrand freemen and brethrin wyfes being vidoues, vsing occupatione of traid shall pay

veiklie for the vse of the said traid the soume of ane schilling scottis; and the samen to be colectit veiklie be the colectour, vhom the decan shall apoynt veiklie for colecting of the samen, and the money so colectit veiklie to be putt in the box maister box for keeping of the samen, and the said box zeirlie to be opinet att the electione of the box maister. Quhilk act and ordinance we, for us and our successouris, bindis and obleiss us to obtemper[1] and fulfill in the haill headis thairof; and the brother dificient in not paying the said 12d veiklie, the decan, with advyse of his counsell, to exerce the haill rigor lau of traid and to pay 6d scottis of veiklie deficientie, and the brother of traid solicitant and contravening this presentt act to pay the soume of ffourtie schillingis, money foirsaid, and submissione to the decan and counsell; subscryvit be the decan and brethrin of traid as ffolloues:

Johne Bruce	James Morton, Decanie
John Duncanson	Patrik Walker
Piter Duncanson	Jo. Broune
J Bruce, younger	John breid
Jhon Myrtoun	John Johnston
John Honyman	
William Russel	Ja: Reid: Cls.
William Walker	
Georg Tod	
John Livingstone	

[15th September 1682.]

nomina consilii.

Johne Duncansone, decan	James Mortoun
Johne Broun	Piter Duncansone
Johne Bruce, zounger	W^m^ kinlouie
Johne Bread	Johne Bruce, elder
	Johne Honyman

[1] To obey. Whether the provost and the baillies,
For the town's good whase daily toil is,
Shou'd listen to our joint petitions,
And see obtemper'd the conditions.
Mutuall complaint of Plainstanes and Causey—Fergusson.
The word occurs again in the *Minutes* as late as 7th May 1805.

[29th May 1683. Audit: owing to Boxmaster forty pounds, fourteen shillings, and fourpence.]

[14th September 1683.]

Nomina consilii.

Johne Duncansone, decan
Johne Bruce, elder
James Mortoun
Johne Broun
Johne Honyman
Johne Johnstsone
William kinlouie
Johne Bruce, zounger
William Walkar

[29th May 1684. Audit: owing Boxmaster twenty-two pounds, fourteen shillings, Scots.]

Wpone the 24 day of junij, 1684.

The Quhilk day, Johne Duncansone, being decan of the baxter traid, and haill brethrin of traid, convenit anent certain effairis of traid; Considering that the act and ordinance conteinet in this book maid be David Kinneir, then decan, vpone the sewinth day of march, jajvc. ffourscoir threettein zeiris, quhairby it is statut and ordainet that nae brother of craft presum nor tak vpone hand to transport or carrie out of this toun to any wther pairt any sort of bread, great and small, with out licience of the decan and some of his counsell, and the samen bread to be tryit, which is violat and brokin. Thairfor the said decan and brethrin of traid, taking to thair serious considerationes the veill fair and vttilitie of the said traid in all tyme comeing, It is statut and ordainet that nae brother be themselves, vyfes, bairnes, or ony wther persones in thair names, directlie or indirectlie, presume or tak vpone hand, transport or cause carrie any braid, great or small, to land ward, or to sell any braid to any land wart persones with out the toun, Bot what the brethrin of the baxter traid shall sell to them out of thair of (sic) boothis; and that nae brother contravein this presentt act vnder the pain of ten pundis scottis, toties quoties, vnforgivin and submissione to the decan and counsell; and siclyk it is statut and ordainet that nae persone, brethrin of traid or brethrin wyfes, presume or tak vpone hand to baik any rollis for sex pennies, bot what they baik att

thair ordinar baiking or efter schott in peckis or tuo peckis, bot that they shall pay heat and service thairfor, vnder the pain of ffour pundis scottis, toties quoties, so oft as any brother shall transgresse the premiss; subscryvit be the decan and brethrin as ffolloues:

John braid	James Morton	John Duncanson, deaikin
John Johnston	Piter Duncason	J Broune
William Russel	V K	John Honyman
John Livingstone	Georg Tod	William Walker
		Ja: Reid Cls.

[19th September 1684.]

Nomina consilii.

Johne Duncansone, decan	Johne Bruce, zounger
Johne Broun	Peter Duncansone
James Mortone	Johne Johnstone

[29th May 1685. Audit: owing Boxmaster thirty-eight pounds, sixteen shillings.]

[18th September 1685.]

nomina Consilii.

Peter Duncansone, decan	James Mortone
Johne Duncansone	Johne Bruce
Johne Broun	Johne Honyman, box maister
Georg Tod	William Russell

[29th May 1686. Audit: owing Boxmaster twenty-two pounds, nineteen shillings.]

[17th September 1686.]

Nomina Consilii.

Peter Duncansone, decan	Johne Bruce
Johne Duncanson	Johne Honyman
James Mortoun	Johne Liuingstoun
Johne Broun	

[30th May 1687. Audit: accounts balance.]

[16th September 1687.]

nomina Consilii.

Johne Duncansone, decan

Peter Duncansone	James Mortoun
Johne Broun	W^m^ Walkar
Johne Bruce	Johne Russell

Wpone the 30 day of september, jajvjc ffourscoir sewin zeiris.

act election of decans be his majestie ordor

The Quhilk day, the Convener and decans of the traidis in St androis and remanent brethrin of traidis being convenit, Counselleris and associatis to the said Convener, and thair the said Convener and decans, as memberis of the toun Counsell of the said Citie, declaired to the said brethrin of traidis that one the last Counsell day the magistratis of the said citie did produce his majestie Letter, scheuing all electiones of Royall burroues be suspended till his majestie Royall pleasur be knouen thairanent, Quhairof the tenor ffolloues: Affectionat ffreindis, Quhairas his most Sacred majestie[1] hes by his most royall letter daitted att the Court att Bath, the eight day of september instant, signified that all electiones in royall burroues be suspended vntill his majestie royall pleasur be knouin thair anent, You are heirfor in pursuance thairof, heirby exprestlie prohibitted and dischairged, as zou uill ansuer att zour perrill, to elect any wther magistratis or Counsell within zour [zour] brugh thir zeir, and zou and the presentt magistratis and Counsell are by his majestie authoritie, heirby authorized to Continou and exerce as magistratis and Counsell vntill his majestie shall signifie his farder plesour. signed in name and by warrant of his majestie privie Counsell, By zour affectionat ffrend, Sic subscribitur, Hamton, J.P.D.[2] Quhich letter being read over to the said Convener, decans, and brethrin of traidis, In obedience thairto Continoued W^m^ duncan, decan Convener of the traidis, and the said brethrin of baxter traid being Convenet Conforme the said his majestie Letter and ordor which was in thair presence read over and the said brethrin of the baxter traid did

Peter Duncanson continoues decan

[1] James II. Amongst the disbursements of the bakers of Coventry is an entry, of the date 1687, 'pd att: King James: his coming to Coventry, 12s.'

[2] In Presentia Dominorum, before the Lords.

adheer to the samen, notwithstanding of thair formar electione of Johne Duncansone to be decan of traid, which ordor or Letter then was not notarlie[1] knouin to the saidis Convener and decans, the said brethrin of baxter traid Continoues Peter Duncansone decan, and the said electione of Johne Duncansone is null till farther ordor from his majestie, as the said ordor bearis. The Counsell of traid being suorne and choysin be petter duncansone, decan.

Ja: Reid Cls.

Nomina Consilii.

Peter Duncansone, decan	Johne Bruce
Johne Duncansone	Johne Honyman
Johne Broun	Wm Walkar
George Tod	Johne Russell
	William Russell

29 maij, 1688 zeiris.

The Quhilk day, Peter Duncansone, being decan, convenit with his brethrin of traid, for hearing and clearing of William Walkar his box maister comptis from the electione 1687 to the electione 1688, they find the samen treu and Laufull in oneratione and exoneratione, and that thair is restin to him the soume of 35 lib. 2s. 8d., conforme to his subscryvit accomptis be the decan and brethrin.

Wpone the 29 maij, 1689 z.

The quhilk day, Johne Duncansone, being decan, convenit with his brethrin of traid, for hearing and clearing of William Walkar, box maister, his box maister Comptis from the electione 1688 to the electione 1689 zeiris, they ffind the samen treu and laufull in oneratione and exoneratione, and that thair is [restin] be the traid to him the soume of 67 lb. 19s. 8d., conforme to his subscryvit comptis be the decan and brethrin.

day and dait foirsaid is payet be band and is heirby dischairgit.[2]

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[1] Publicly.

[2] There is no mention of 'John Duncansone' having been appointed 'decan' in 1688. The meeting would be in September. Does his appointment in September 1687 take effect without a re-election?

[13th September 1689.]

Nomina Consilii.

Johne Bruce, decan	Johne Honieman
Johne Broun	Johne Johnstoun
Johne Duncansone	William Russell, box mr

[29th May 1690. Audit: owing Boxmaster nine pounds, two shillings, and eightpence.]

[12th September 1690.]

Nomina Consilii.

Johne Bruce, decan	Jo: Honyman
Jo: Broun	Wm Russell
Jo: Duncansone	Johne Johnstoun
	Wm Walkar

[29th May 1691. Audit: owing Boxmaster four pounds, two shillings, and tenpence.]

[18th September 1691.]

Nomina Consilii.

Johne Duncansone, decan	Johne Honyman
Johne Bruce	Wm Russell
Johne Broun	Johne Johnstone
Wm Broun	Wm Walkar

[30th May 1692. Audit: Boxmaster owes and pays five pounds, nineteen shillings, and fourpence.]

[16th September 1692.]

Nomina Consilii.

Johne Duncansone, decan	Johne Braid, box mr
Johne Bruce, Convener	Johne Johnstone
Johne Broun	Johne Honyman
	Wm Walkar

[29th May 1693. Audit: owing Boxmaster eight pounds, three shillings, and eightpence.]

[15th September 1693.]

Nomina consilii.

Wm Walkar, decan	Johne Johnstone
Johne bruce, Convener	Johne Honyman
Johne Duncansone	Johne bread

[29th May 1694. Audit: owing Boxmaster six pounds, seventeen shillings, and fourpence.]

[14th September 1694.]

Nomina Concilii.

Johne Honyman, Deacon	Johne Johnstoune
William Walker	Johne Livingstoune
William Broun	Johne Bred

[29th May 1695. Audit: owing Boxmaster thirty pounds, eight shillings, and eightpence, Scots.]

[13th September 1695.]

Nomina Concilii.

John Honyman, present deacone	John Johnstoune
John Bruce	Wm Broun
Wm Walker	John Russill

[29th May 1696. Audit: owing Boxmaster forty-two pounds, eleven shillings, and eightpence, Scots.]

[11th September 1696.]

Nomina Concilii.

John Bruce	John Johnstoune
John Honyman	Wm Broune
Wm Walker	John Russell

St Andreus, 4th June, 1697 yeares.

The quhilk day, William Thomsone, present Deacon Conveener of the traids in St Andreus, accompanied with the Deacones and remanent members of the Conveeners Councill, haveing mett upon the gallow hill, ther ordinar place of meetting ffor treatteing anent certain affairs of traids, Considering that trouble and debaitts have arysen by John Johnstoun, on of the members of the Baxter traid, his refuisseing to accept of

Act against persones refuisseing to accept of the respective offices of Deacon Conveenership, Deaconrie or Boxsmastership

the office of Boxmastership uhen legally elected and chosen, The Deacone Conveener, Deacones, and remanent members of the Conveeners Councill ffor preventeing of trouble and debaitts that may aryse by persones refuisseing to accept of the respective offices of Deacon Conveenership, Deaconrie, or Boxsmastershipe, in tyme comeing, Doe statutte and ordaine That whatever persone, member of the seven traids, shall refuise to accept of the office of Deacon Conveenership, Deaconrie, or Boxsmastership, uhen legallie elected and chosen, uhither the persone elected be present or absent at the election, shall incurr the penalty of ten pounds money, scotts, by and attour the persones being obleidged to accept. Provyding alwayes Lykeas it is heirby speciallie provydit that thir presentts shall not obleidge any member to accept of any of the respective offices if they have been in office for thrie years immediatly before. And ordaines this present Act to be insert in the haill seven traids ther books, for keeping of peace and unity in all tyme comeing. Sic subscribitur Andrew Dickesone, John Honyman, James Williamsone, Thomas Duncane, Alex^{r} Millar, Pa: Wilsone Cls.

Pa: Wilsone Cls.

[17th September 1697.]

Nomina Concilii.

W^{m} Broune, Deacone	W^{m} Walker
John Bruce	John Livingstoun
John Honyman	John Russell

[30th May 1698. Audit: income, thirty-two pounds, nineteen shillings, and eightpence, Scots; expenditure, forty pounds, eight shillings, and eightpence, Scots.]

St Andreus, 30 May, 1698 yeares.

This day, William Broune, being deacone, accompanied with his bretheren of traid, within the Castle closs, for electeing of ane Boxsmaster for ane year to come, After voitting the voitts did run equallie betuixt John Livingstone and John Johnstone, so that the Deacone, by his casteing votte, carried that John Johnston be Boxsmaster for ane year to come.

St Andreus, the eight day of June, 1698 years.

John Johnstoune Boxsmaster

The quhilk day, William Broune, being deacone, Conveened with his bretheren of traid, Compeared John Johnstoune Who Accepted the office as Boxsmaster for a year to come to the nixt electione And made faith de fideli under protestatione.[1]

[16th September 1698.]

Nomina Concilii.

Wm Broune	Wm Walker
John Bruce	John Johnstoune
John Honyman	John Braid
	James Duncansone

St Andreus, 1 June, 1698 yeares.

John Darsie ffiell To John Bruce

The quhilk day, Wm Broune, Deacone, & remanent Councill of traid, being mett, John Darsie, son to Alexander Darsie, Baillie in Anstruther Wester, Is bound serwant and ffiell to John Bruce, ane brother of traid, ffor the space of ane year after the date heirof. The said John Darsie haveing payed the dewes of traid being four pounds scotts.

[29th May 1699. Audit: income, thirty-one pounds, one shilling; expenditure, forty-nine pounds, six shillings, and fourpence.]

[15th September 1699.]

Nomina Concilii.

William Broune	John Johnstoune	
John Honyman	John Braid	John Livingstoune
William Walker	James Duncansone	

[29th May 1700. Audit: income, ten pounds, sixteen shillings, and eightpence; expenditure, sixty pounds, fourteen shillings, and tenpence, Scots.]

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[1] The Deacon and the half of the electors were not long in putting the Act of the Conveners' Court into operation, and compelled Johnstone to accept the office that he had previously declined. In 1705 he was re-elected Deacon, but only accepted on the stipulation that he should not be re-elected the following year.

[13th September 1700.]

Nomina Concilii.

Wm Walker, Deacone	John Johnstoune
Wm Broune	John Braid
John Honyman	James Duncansone

[29th May 1701. Audit: income, thirty pounds, four shillings, and tenpence; expenditure, eighty-six pounds, twelve shillings, and twopence.]

[12th September 1701.]

Nomina Concilii.

Wm Broune, Deacone Conveener	John Johnstoune
William Walker [Deacon]	James Duncansone
John Honymane	John Braid

[29th May 1702. Audit: income, thirty pounds, sixteen shillings, and eightpence; expenditure, thirty-nine pounds, six shillings, and tenpence.]

[11th September 1702.]

Nomina Concilii.

Wm Broune, Deacone Conveener	Wm Walker
John Johnstoune [Deacon]	John Braid
John Honymane	James Duncansone

St Andreus, 29 May, 1703 yeares.

Ja: Duncansone boxsmaster his accomptis

The forsaid day, James Duncansone, boxsmaster, his accompttis being statted, They find that He is superexpendit in the soume of thretty two pounds, 19s., eight pennies, includeing the last years ballance.

St Andreus, 17th August, 1703 yeares.

Admissio Henrici Tod

The uhich day, John Johnstoune, Deacone, and remanent members of traid, haveing mett, Henry Tod, Late prentise to the now deceast John Bruce, brother of traid, Is admitted and receaved frieman to the haill liberties and priviledges of traid in all tyme comeing, Who payed of speakeing drink eight pounds scotts, of sey drink fourtein pounds, of bookeing money thrie pounds, for his fredome to the seatt thretty shilling scotts, With Ane Hundreth pounds for his freedome,

Conforme to ordor of traid with all other deues, and made faith as use is, and obleiss himselfe to serve the traid as officer for ane year.

Pa: Wilsone Cls:

[17th September 1703.]

Nomina Concilii.

W^m^ Broune	John Braid
John Johnstoune [Deacon]	James Duncansone
Jo: Honyman	John Livingstoun
Peter Duncansone	Ja: Balfour

St Andreus, 29^th^ May, 1704 yeares.

Act Anent 1s. weeklie mentioned in the Act 30 May 1682

The uhich day, the Deacone and bretheren of traid haveing mett, Considering that the patrimonie of the traid is now att a loe ebb and that it is ther deuty to supportt the same uhen sincking, Doe therfore revive the Act made upon the thretty of May 1682 yeares, And appoynttis the same to be in full force in all tyme comeing, untill the same be recalled, and appoynttis the boxsmaster for the tyme during his incumbencie to hold compt for the same and that the first weeks collectione to commence from the daitt heirof.

John Honyman	Pa: Wilsone Cls:
John Braid	John Johnstone, Deacon
James Duncanson	Will: Brown
John JoRil. Russells mark	John Livingston
Peter Duncansone	James Balfour
Hendry Tod	John Johnstone

[15th September 1704.]

Nomina Concilii.

Conveener Broune	Peitter Duncansone
John Johnstoune [Deacon]	John Johnstoune, younger,
John Honyman	D[eacon] Councellor
John Braid	Henry Tod, Councellour
James Duncansone	

St Andreus, 14th septer., 1705 yeares.

The quhilk day, the Bretheren of the Baxter traid Haueing mett for electeing of ane Deacone for ane year to come, They, by pluralty of voittis, Elected John Johnstoune to be

Deacone, Who being presentt Accepted of the said office & made faith as use is, The traid haueing promised not to elect him the nixt year upon uhich provisione he accepted & no otheruayes. John Johnstoune Deacone

Nomina Concilii.

Conveener Broune	Jo Braid
John Johnstoune	Peter Duncansone
Deacone Honyman	James Duncansone

St Andreus, 4th Apryle, 1706 years.

The quhilk day, The Deacone and bretheren of traid, upon grave and ueighty considerationes, Doe heirby Recall and rescind the Act made upon the 29th May 1704 years anent the impositione, etc. And Declaires the same, with the act 30 May 1682, uhich is relative yairto, to be nouayes binding for the future, unles it be found reasonable and just & for the good of the traid, And with the consent of the haill traid.[1] Act rescinding the act made 29 May 1704

The forsaid day, the Deacone and bretheren of traid, Did, upon grave and ueighty considerationes, Rescind and annull that Act in the book made 7th March 1593 years, anent the Dischargeing of the transporting or carreing bread Act rescinding the act 1593 anent the discharging of

[1] The rescinding of a resolution that had been made twenty-four years is a noteworthy event, but it is eclipsed by the repeal in the following paragraph of an Act passed in 1593—a hundred-and-thirteen years before! The march of progress was very slow, and the members appear to have harboured grave doubts as to whether there might not be a necessity to reinstate one of the measures in the interest of the trade. The latter entry is a weighty testimony to the continuity of trade interests and of reluctance to change accepted conditions. Etienne Boileau gave their first statutes to the Paris bakers in 1270, and they continued in force until 1719, when important changes were made in them. About the same date, 9th June 1703, the Dundee bakers had decided that no baker should sell bread in the country, or to any person to send into the country, or at any country market, at less price than was agreed upon in a previous act. In the 1695 regulations of Saint Germain-des-Prés there are several repetitions of the prohibition of selling or crying bread through the streets, and if bakers carried it to the houses of the citizens they were ordered to cover it with a linen cloth. In the fifteenth century the tradesmen at Mans were not allowed to expose bread for sale on the Market on Sundays, the fêtes of Notre Dame and Ascension; and on ordinary occasions they were only allowed to sell from the windows of their shops or on the market, under the penalty of a fine, half of which went to the funds of the Court, and the other half to the funds of the trade.

the selling of bread in Landuard

of toune for sale, And Declairs that any member may carrie bread to the Landuard for sale, as frelay as if ther had never been any act or practise against so doeing.

[13th September 1706.]

Nomina Consilii.

William Broune
John Honyman [Deacon]
John Johnstoune
Henry Tod
James Duncansone
John Braid
Dauid Walker

[12th September 1707.]

Nomina Concilii.

Wm Broune
John Honyman [Deacon]
John Johnstoune
James Duncansone
Henry Tod
Peter Duncansone

[17th September 1708.]

Nomina Consilii.

John Honymane, Deacone
Wm Broune
John Johnstoune, elder
James Duncansone
John Johnstoune, younger
John Braid

[16th September 1709.]

Nomina Consilli.

Wm Broune
Peter Duncansone [Deacon]
John Honymane
John Johnstoune, elder
John Johnstoune, younger
John Braid

St Andreus, 21 December, 1709 yeares.

Alexr Weyms seruant & ffiall To Helen Tailliar

The which day, Peter Duncansone, Deacone, and Councill of traid haueing mett, Alexander Weyms, Laufull sone to Alexander Weymes, Maltman in this city, Is bound serwantt and ffiall to Helen Tialliar, relict of the deceast James Duncansone, brother of traid, for the space of ane year after the daitt heirof,[1] The said Alexander Weyms, younger, haueing payed all dues of traid being four pounds scotts.

[1] 'A week's notice on either side' was not the rule then. A year was considered short enough time. On 7th November 1608, the Town Council of Peebles ordained 'that nane fee ane servant bot for ane yeir, and that heirefter nane within burgh tak ane servant quhill the yeir be endit, and this act to be extendit aganis all servantis.' But even this long run of service left the door open to discontent, occasioned largely by the custom to which the quaintly

[15th September 1710.]

Nomina Consilii.

Peter Duncansone	John Johnstoune, elder
William Broune	John Braid
John Honymane	David Walker

St Andreus, 29th May, 17ii yeares.

The uhich day, George Johnstoune was chosen Councellour.

[14th September 1711.]

Nomina Consilii.

John Johnstoune, younger	John Honyman
Wm Broune	John Johnstoune, elder
Peter Duncansone	David Walker

[12th September 1712.]

Nomina Concilii.

John Braid	Peter Duncansone	
John Honymane	Henry Tod	Wm Gib,
John Johnstoune, younger	Dauid Walker	Councellour

Att St Andreus, the Eighteen day of November, Jajvijc and tuelve years.

The uhich day, George Carstairs, present Deacon conveiner, Robert Watsone, James Dickiesone, John Braid, James Wmsone [Williamsone?], Andrew Thomsone, elder, James Bell, and Andrew Measone, present Deacons of the smiths, wrights, baxters, taylor, shoemaker, weaver, weaver (sic) and flesher traids of St Andreus, and remanent members of the conveiners court, Considering that the act made upon the sixteen of october last Imposeing three punds scots quarterly upon each of the seven traids and laying on certane soumes on the mort cloaths and on ther prentices for payment of the traids debts will not take ther desyred effect or ansuer the

borrowed term of 'handfasting' was applied. Jamieson gives fial as 'one who receives wages,' and derives it from O.F. *feal*, faithful, honest, true. In Glasgow, on 20th April 1753, the journeyman's 'ordinary ffial' was put at 'Ten punds Scots and a pair of shous at expiration of each year.' There is a curious phrase in the statutes of the Parisian oubloyers, 1566, forbidding servants absenting themselves from their masters, 'Silz n'ont fait le temps u'ilz seront louez a leursdits mestres.'

design, Therfor they rescind and repeall the same, And now takeing to ther serious consideratione that the seven traids patrimony is burdined with the following principall soumes, viz. ffiftie merks scots to Robert Orrik, Dean of Gild, Ane hundreth punds to Andrew Dickiesone, Three scor sixteen punds, Eight shilling, Eight pennies, to James Wmsone [Williamsone?], elder, Ane hundreth punds to James Aikens childrine, Ane hundreth punds to John Duncan in Muirhousis, Ane hundreth merks to W^m^ Mories, ffourtie tuo punds, four shilling to Thomas Peatie, fiftie merks to George Adamsone, And Ane hundreth merks to John scot in Langraw,[1] Extending the saids haill principall soumes To Nyne hundreth, tuenty seven merks, besydes several arents,[2] and that each of the saids seven traids have payed in, at least transacted and given security ffor, ane hundreth merks, being in all seven hundreth merks; in order to the bringing the forsaids traids debts to a soume betuixt tuo and three hundreth merks, which will so fare tend to the advantage of the seven traids that the payment of a[nnual] rents, which did eat up a considerable pairt of the seven traids incomes, will be prevented, So as the debt remaining will in a short tyme be satisfeed, Therfor the Conveiner and Deacons and Conveiners court doe unanimously approve of the generous Conduct of the traids and appoints the Conveiner and deacons to satisfee the traids debts, as fare as the seven hundreth merks will amount to. And for the preventing of the contracting of Debt in tyme comming, doe inact, that in all tyme commeing, The Conveiner and Deacons shall not expend of the traids patrimony above fiftie merks yearly attour[3] the payment of a[nnual] rents, With certificatione that if they exceed the fiftie merks yearly the superpluss suae spent shall not be allowed to them. And they appoint the conveiners boxmasters accompts to be yearly stated befor the conveiners councell, befor the electione, that it may be knowen hou the patrimony is expended. And

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[1] South of St. Andrews, in the Parish of Cameron.

[2] Contraction for annual rent.

[3] Beyond.

seeing it is Just that each of the seven traids who have presently payed in or transacted the hundreth merks be reimbursed therof hou soon as the seven traids patrimony shall be in a conditione so to doe, Therfor it is hereby enacted, that after all the traids debts are compleitly payed, what ever money shall be found yearly in the boxmasters hand, after commpting, the same shall be equalie devided among the seven traids untill ther ane hundreth merks be payed.

St Andreus, 11th septer., 1713 years. John Johnstoune younger Deacone

The uhich day, The Bretheren of the Baxter traid Haueing mett for electing of ane Deacone for ane year to come, They, after voitting, voitted equally as to John Braid and John Johnstoune, younger, and the Deacone Conveener being called, He Determined John Johnstoune, younger, to be Deacone, who, being present, accepted of the said office and made faith as use is.

Nomina Consilii.

John Johnstoune, younger, Deacone	Wm Gib
John Johnstoune, elder	Dauid Walker
John Braid	Peter Duncansone

St Andreus, 10th september, 1714 years. John Johnstoun Deacone

The uhich day, The Bretheren of the Baxter traid Haueing mett for electing of ane Deacone for ane year to come, They, by plurality of voittis, elected John Johnstoune, younger, to be Deacone; Who, being present, Accepted of the said office & made faith as use is, Against uhich electione John Braid and others protested and left the courtt.

Nomina Consilii.

John Johnstoune, younger, Deacone	Henry Tod
John Johnstoune, elder	Peter Duncansone
John Braid	John Livingstoune

[16th September 1715.]

Nomina Concilii.

John Johnstoune, elder	David Walker
John Johnstoune, younger	John Livingstoune
John Braid	Deacone Honyman

[14th September 1716.]

Nomina Consilii.

John Johnstoune, Deacone	John Braid
Henry Tod	David Walker
John Johnstoune, elder	John Livingstoune

[13th September 1717.]

Nomina Consilii.

Peter Duncansone	Jo: Braid
Jo: Johnstoune, younger	Henry Tod
Jo: Livingstoune	W^m^ Gib

S^t^ Andreus, 16^th^ October, 1717 yeares.

Act Anent freemens sones entering & uhat they pay

The uhich day, the Deacone and Bretheren of the Baxter traid Enact That in all tyme comeing a fremans sone entering to the libertie of the traid shall pay for all dues the soume of Tuenty four poundis scottis & no more.

[12th September 1718.]

Nomina Consilii.

Peter Duncansone	Henry Tod
John Johnstoune, younger	David Walker
John Braid	John Livingstone

[11th September 1719.]

Nomina Consilii.

Peter Duncansone	Henry Tod
John Johnstoune, younger	John Livingstone
John Braid	W^m^ Gib

St Andreus, 21 January, 1720 years.

This day John Braid, younger, was suorne as officer. Paull Duncansone admitted Councellor.

S^t^ Andreus, 28^th^ May, 1720 years.

Alex^r^ Burt fiall to Mich: Balfour

The uhich day, Alexander Burt, son to Alex^r^ Burt in the parish of Arnecosk,[1] was bound fiall to Michaell Balfour, brother of traid. . . .

[1] Arngask, a parish in Kinross Presbytery.

[16th September 1720.]

Nomina Consilii.

Peter Duncansone	Henry Tod
John Johnstoune, younger	Jo: Livingston
John Braid	Wm Gib

St Andreus, 23d November, 1720 years. Andrew patersone fiell To Mris Bruce

The uhich day, Andrew Patersone, son to James paterson, Gildbrother in this city, was bound fiell To Mris Bruce. . .

[15th September 1721.]

Nomina Consilii.

Peter Duncansone	Jo: Livingston	Mich: Balfour
John Braid	Da: Walker	
John Johnstoune, younger	Wm Gib	

St Andreus, 16 November, 1721 years. John Henderson ffiall To Michaell Balfour

The uhich day, John Hendersone, son to James Hendersone, meassone, in the parish of Orwall,[1] was admitted as ffiall to Michaell Balfour, brother of traid, Who payed all dues of traid according to ordor of traid He being fied for ane year to come.

St Andreus, 20th November, 1721. George Petrie ffiall to William Gib

The which Day, George Petrie, Son to James Petrie, tenent in the milne of Foulls, within the paroch of the same, was admitted as ffiall to William Gib, brother of Trade, who payed all dues of trade according to order of trade, he being fied for ane year to come.

St Andrews, 27th November, 1721 years. Tho: Montgal fiall to Mris Bruce

The Which Day, Thomas Montgal, Son to Robert Montgal, Smith, in Falkland, was admitted as fial to Christian Rankillor, relict of the deceast John Bruce, Sometime Conveener of the trades of St Andrews, and brother of trade, who paid all dues of trade according to order of trade, he being fied for an year to come.

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[1] Orwell, a parish in Kinross-shire.

[14th September 1722.]

Nomina Consilii.

Peter Duncansone	Jo: Livingstoune
Jo: Johnstoune, younger	Wm Gib
Jo: Braid	Paul Duncansone

[13th September 1723.]

Nomina Consilii.

Wm Gib	Henry Tod
Peter Duncansone	Paul Duncansone
Jo: Livingstone	Michaell Balfour

St Andreus, 22d November, 1723 years.

Robert Donaldsone ffiall to Wm Gib

The uhich day, Robert Donaldsone, Laufull son to William Donaldsone, in Cabers walls, was bound ffiell for halfe ane year to William Gib, Deacone of traid. . . .

[11th September 1724.]

Nomina Consilii.

Wm Gib	Paull Duncansone
Peter Duncansone	John Livingstone
John Braid	Da: Murray

[10th September 1725.]

Nomina Consilii.

Paul Dunckeson	William Gibb
David Murray	John Braid
Andrew Paterson	Peter Dunckeson

[16th September 1726.]

Nomina Consilii.

William Gib	Paul Dunckeson
Peter Dunckeson	Andrew Paterson
John Braid	John Dunckeson

St Andrews, 20th June, 1727.

Alexr ffernie ffiall to Jo: Duncanson

The Which Day, Alexander ffernie, lawfull son to the deceast Walter ffernie, tennent in the Kettle Parish,[1] was bound ffiall for ane year to John Duncanson, present Boxmaster of trade. . . .

[1] A parish south-west of Cupar.

[15th September 1727.]

Nomina Consilii.

William Gib	Paul Duncanson
Peter Duncanson	John Duncanson
John Braid	Andrew Paterson

S^t^ Andrews, 14^th^ December, 1727.

Act anent receiveing of freemen

The Which Day, Andrew Thomson, present Deacon Conveener of the Trades of this City, Robert Watson, present Deacon of the Smiths there, William Dyar, present Deacon of the Wrights there, William Gib, present Deacon of the Baxters there, James Thomson, present Deacon of the Tailziars there, Thomas Duncan, present Deacon of the shoemakers there, John Buddo, present Deacon of the weavers there, and William Masson, younger, present Deacon of the ffleshers there, and remanent members of the Conveeners Court, having mett, and Considering that the Trades and Incorporations of this City are very numerous, so that many of the members therof can scarce live by their Trade,[1] And Considering Likeways that they are capable of Serveing the Liegies, Therfor, the said Conveener, Deacons and Remanent members of the Conveeners Court, doe herby (for the better subsistance of the saids Trades) STATUTE, enact, and ordain that in all time comeing none of the saids Trades receive any freemen, excepting such as are freemens Sons or Strangers marrying freemens Daughters, or such as serve their Prentiship in the town; And Likways Excepting cases of necessity, in which the conveener, Deacons, and members of the Conveeners Court shall be judges. And they hereby Discharge the like to be done under the penalty of fourtie pounds scots money, by and attour performance, the which fyne shall be Disposed upon by the then Conveener and his

[1] About this time, in 1735, the Eisenach bakers determined that the number of bakers' shops should not be extended, because the numbers had so increased that it almost appeared that the bakers could scarcely get a living. Again in 1800, a petition was presented to the Government, stating that as there were twenty-eight masters and widows in the trade the number was too large for the size of the town, and it was petitioned that this number should never be exceeded.

Court as they shall think fitt, and furder Statute and Declare that the admission of any such shall be void and of no force or effect, excepting such as have given their speaking Drink, or made ane offer therof, to any of the Trades, befor the date of the act, and they hereby ordain the forsaid act to be Insert in each of the seven Trades books. In witnes wherof (written by Patrick Wilson, Clerk to the seven trades of St Andrews), day, place, moneth, and year of God, a[bove] written.

Pa: Wilson Clk.
William Gib.

[13th September 1728.]

Nomina Concilii.

William Gib	Andrew Paterson
Peter Duncanson	John Duncanson
Paul Duncanson	John Braid

St Andrews, 5th October, 1728.

Act anent the Election of Conveener Deacon and Boxmaster

The Which Day, Andrew Thomson, present Deacon Conveener of the Trades of this City, George Adamson, present Deacon of the Smiths there, William Dyar, present Deacon of the Wrights there, William Gib, present Deacon of the Baxters there, Thomas Brown, present Deacon of the Tailziars there, Thomas Duncan, present Deacon of the shoemakers there, John Buddo, present Deacon of the Weavers there, & William Masson, younger, present Deacon of the ffleshers there, and Remanent Members of the Conveeners Court, haveing mett, & takeing to their Serious Consideration the many Differences, Debates, & Controversies that doe arise among them anent the Election of Conveeners, Deacons, & Boxmasters to their Severall offices, They all, with one voice, Consent and Assent (for preventing all feuds & anomosities that may happen to fall out among any of the saids Seven Trades & Incorporations, In time Comeing, & for the better establishment of peace, Concord, & tranquillity among them & more Settled manner of procedure In their Respective Elections as said is), Statute, Enact, And Ordain that no member of any of the saids Seven Trades or Incorpora-

tions shall for the future vote for or Give their Sentiment to any member of the saids Seven Trades to be their Conveener, Deacon, or Boxmaster who have Carried charge, or exerced any of the forsaids Respective offices for the space of three years successively, And hereby Declare that the vote & sentiment of any such shall *ipso facto* be Reduced, extinct, null, of none avail, strength, force, nor effect, And have no faith In judgement nor out with the same, And herby Certifie that the Contraveeners of this Act shall Incurr the penalty of ten pounds Scots, Toties Quoties, attour the annulling of their Sentiment or vote as said is, and the Mulct or fyne so exacted from them as said is shall be at the Disposall of the then Conveener & Deacons. AS ALSO the said Conveener, Deacons, & Court Hereby approve of this present Act, & Confirm the same, In the haill Articles & Clauses yairof, And Declare the same to be the only Stated & fixed modell of their procedure In their Elections as said is, And hereby & by the tenor of the samen Act, ABROGATE, CASS, RESCIND and annull all preceeding Acts or Statutes anent their Elections as said is, and hereby Declare the same to be void & null In all time hereafter, And Sicklike they, takeing to their Serious Consideration that some of them has these severall years Backward officiat In the said offices & Carried charge as said is, which has been very Grievous & Burdensom to them, Therfor they hereby Statute & Declare, that any member who has been In office for the Space of two years Backward and are In office for the Ensuing year shall Demitt. And all the Members of the saids Seven Trades are hereby Prohibited to Give their vote to any such carrying charge as said is under the forsaid penalty, besides the Reduction of their vote as said is and the annulling therof. And they hereby ordain the Clerk to Read over or Intimate this Act to the whole Members of the saids Seven Trades before they proceed In their Elections; which Act, being putt to a vote, was approvin of Nemine Contradicente, And finally ordain this present Act to be Insert In each of the Seven Trades Books, that none of the Members of the saids Seven Trades

may pretend Ignorance, In witnes quharof We have subscribed these presents (written by Patrick Wilson, Clerk to the Seven trades of S[t] Andrews), place, Day, moneth, & year of God, a[bove] written.

Andreu Thomson
William Gib
Pa: Wilson Clk.

S[t] Andrews, 29[th] May, 1729.

John Millar ffiall to John Duncanson

The Which Day, John Millar, Laufull son to the Deceast David Millar, Burges in S[t] Andrews, was bound ffiall to John Duncanson, one of the Members of Trade, for ane year. . . .

[12th September 1729.]

Nomina Concilii.

Paul Duncanson	Peter Duncanson
John Duncanson	Andrew Paterson
William Gib	John Livingston

S[t] Andrews, 3[d] ffebruary, 1730.

George Berner ffiall to Will: Gib

The Which Day, Paul Duncanson, present Deacon, and Remanent Members of Trade, being Conveened, George Berner, Lawfull son to John Berner, in S[t] Nicolas,[1] was Bound ffiall to William Gib, late Deacon of Trade. . . .

[11th September 1730.]

Nomina Concilii.

Paul Duncanson [Deacon]	David Walker
William Gib	John Johnston
John Bred	Peter Duncanson

S[t] Andrews, 16[th] October, 1730.

Robert Steedman ffiall To John Duncanson

The Which Day, Paul Duncanson, present Deacon, and Remanent Bretheren of Trade, haveing mett, Robert Steedman, lawfull son to the deceast Robert steedman, Mariner in Burntisland, was Bound ffiall to John Duncanson. . . .

[10th September 1731.]

Nomina Concilii.

John Braid	Paul: Duncanson

[1] In the Parish of St. Andrews.

William Gib — John Duncanson
Peter Duncanson — David Walker

S[t] Andrews, 27[th] November, 1731.

The which Day, Paul Duncanson, Deacon, & Remanent Members of Trade, haveing mett, Andrew Young, Lawfull son to Alexander Young, Tennent in Muir Cambes Miln, was Entered ffiall to John Duncanson. . . . Andrew Young ffiall to John Duncanson

[15th September 1732.]

Nomina Concilii.
Paul Duncanson — David Walker
William Gib — Andrew Honeyman
John Johnston

[14th September 1733.]

Nomina Concilii.
Andrew Paterson — David Walker
William Gib — Andrew Honeyman
Peter Duncanson

[29th May 1734.]

The Same day, David Walker haveing come to Town (he being absent when elected) Accepted of his office and made faith as use is. David Walkers Acceptance

[Boxmaster elected the same day.]

S[t] Andrews, 3[d] November, 1734.

Which Day, the Deacon & Trade being Conveened, Archbald Kelly was Entered ffiall to Deacon Gib, and William Young and William Mitchell were entered ffialls to John Duncanson. . . .

[13th September 1734.]

Nomina Concilii.
John Bred, Deacon — Peter Duncanson
John Johnston — Paul Duncanson
William Gib — David Walker

[12th September 1735.]

Nomina Concilii.
Deacon Braid — William Gib

Peter Duncanson — David Walker
Paul Duncanson — Andrew Paterson

St Andrews, 7th January, 1736.

Da: Mitchell ffiall to Dav: Walker

Which Day, John Braid, present Deacon, & Remanent Members of Trade being mett, David Mitchell, Lawfull son to John Mitchell, Baxter in Leuchars, was Entered ffiall and Journeyman to David Walker. . . .

[10th September 1736.]

Nomina Concilii.

John Duncanson, Deacon — Wm Gib
John Braid — Peter Duncanson
David Walker — Paul Duncanson

[16th September 1737.]

Nomina Concilii.

John Duncanson, Deacon — Peter Duncanson
Andrew Honeyman — Paul Duncanson
William Gib — John Braid

St Andrews, 13th July, 1738.

Jno: Balfour ffiall To Da: Walker

Which Day, John Duncanson, present Deacon, and remanent members of Trade, being Conveened, John Balfour, son to Robert Balfour, deceast, Baxter in Coupar of ffife, was entered ffiall & Servant to David Walker, Baxter. . . .

The Same Day, the Deacon and Trade being Conveened, William Watson, son to the deceast [blank] Watson, Baxter in Craill, was entered ffiall to John Duncanson, present Deacon. . . .

[15th September 1738.]

Nomina Concilii.

Wm Gib, Deacon — Paul Duncanson
John Duncanson — Andrew Honyman
Peter Duncanson — David Tod
David Walker

[14th September 1739.]

Nomina Concilii.

Wm Gib — David Walker
John Duncanson — David Tod
John Braid — Andrew Paterson

S^{t} Andrews, 6th December, 1739. Jno: Briggs ffiall To Jno Duncanson

Which Day, William Gib, present Deacon, & remanent members of Trade, being Conveened, John Briggs, Son [to] William Briggs, Baker[1] in Colinsburgh, was Entered ffiall & Servant to John Duncanson. . . .

[12th September 1740.]

Nomina Concilii.

William Gib, Deacon	Paul Duncanson
John Duncanson	John Braid
Peter Duncanson	

S^{t} Andrews, 5th June, 1741. Jas: Crighton ffeeall to Jno. Gregory

Which Day, William Gib, present Deacon, & remanent members of Trade, being conveened, James Crighton, son to David Crighton, Burgess in S^{t} Andrews, was entered ffeeall & Servant to John Gregory, Brother of Trade, for halfe a year, all dues of Trade being paid.

[11th September 1741.]

Nomina Concilii.

John Duncanson, D:	Peter Duncanson
W^{m} Gib	Paul Duncanson
John Gregorie	John Braid

S^{t} Andrews, 3^{d} November, 1741. W^{m} McIntosh ffiall To Deacon Duncanson

Which Day, John Duncanson, present Deacon, & remanent Members of Trade, being mett, William McIntosh, Son to the deceast William McIntosh, Brewer in fferry port-on-Craig,[2] was about a year since or thereby Entered ffiall to the said John Duncanson. . . .

[10th September 1742.]

Nomina Concilii.

John Duncanson, Deacon	W^{m} Gib
John Gregory	Paul Duncanson
Peter Duncanson	David Walker

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[1] This is the first substitution of baker for baxter.

[2] Tayport.

St Andrews, 2d December, 1742.

Robert Briggs ffiall to Deacon Duncanson

Which Day, John Duncanson, present Deacon, & remanent Members of Trade, being Conveened, Robert Briggs, Son to William Briggs, Baker in Colinsburgh, was Entered ffiall to the said John Duncanson. . . .

[16th September 1743.]

Nomina Concilii.

John Duncanson, Deacon	Conveener Gib
Peter Duncanson	Paul Duncanson
John Gregory	David Walker

St Andrews, 18th January, 1744.

Jas: Swan ffiall To Deacon Duncanson

Which Day, John Duncanson, present Deacon, & remanent Members of Trade, being Conveened, James Swan, Son to George Swan, deceast, Sometime Wright in Dysert, was Entered ffiall to the said John Duncanson. . . .

[14th September 1744.]

Nomina Concilii.

Paul Duncanson	John Duncanson
Wm Gib	David Walker
Peter Duncanson	John Gregory

[4th June 1745.]

The Same Day, David Walker was by plurality of votes Elected Box Master for a year to come But refused to Accept of said office.

Thereafter the same Day he Compeared & Accepted of the said office & gave his oath de fideli.

St Andrews, 13th September, 1745.

Which Day, John Gregory, Brother of Trade, was by plurality of votes Elected Deacon. . . .

St Andrews, 1st October, 1745.

Which Day, Compeared John Gregory who Accepted of his office as Deacon to the Baxter Trade to which he was Elected on the thirteenth of September last, And made faith as use is.

Nomina Concilii.

John Gregory, Deacon	Paul Duncanson
David Walker, Boxmaster	David Tod
John Braid	Thomas Honyman

[12th September 1746.]

Nomina Concilii.

David Walker, Deacon	Peter Duncanson
David Tod	John Braid
John Gregory	Paul Duncanson

S^{t} Andrews, 9th December, 1747.

Da: Myles ffiall To Jo: Duncanson

Which Day, David Myles, Son to [blank] Myles, in Pittessie, was Entered ffiall to John Duncanson. . . .

Att S^{t} Andrews, the Twenty third Day of January, one Thousand seven hundred & ffourty Seven years.

Which Day, the Baxter Trade of S^{t} Andrews being Conveened by order of the Deacon; Sederunt,

David Walker, Deacon	John Braid	W^{m} Gib (Not in the Kingdom)
David Tod, Boxmaster	Thomas Honyman	
Peter Duncanson	Andrew Paterson	John Gregory (absent & never meets with the Trade, having given up his business)
Paul Duncanson	Thomas Kyd	

It was this Day Represented to the said Baxter Trade that there had been a Complaint lodged befor the Court of Session at the Instance of Andrew Williamson, & others, his adherents, Complaining of the illegality of the Election of Magistrates & Councillers of this City at Michaelmass Jajvijc. & fourty five, and Craving that the same might be Sett aside. And It being moved in the said Trade that if the said Election should be Sett aside or reduced it was to be feared it might have Consequential Influence against the Election of Magistrates & Councillers in the year Jajvijc. and fourty Six, with whom the generality of this City Seem to be well Satisfied, and That it was reasonable that the several Incorporations of this City should signify their approbation or dislike of the

said Election & Magistrats & Councill Elected, which Motion the said Baxter Trade having taken into their Serious Consideration, and they perceiving that the Election of Magistrates & Councill in the year Jajvijc. & fourty five, tho subject to some Informalitys by reason of the Wilfull absence of some of the then Magistrates & Councillers, absolutly necessary in itselfe for preserving the peace & good order of the City & Securing the revenue & Patrimony thereof, which otherways behooved necessarly to have been lost for that year, They think themselves theirfor obliged in this Judicial manner as a body Corporate To Declare, as they Do hereby Declare, their approbation of the said Election, and In Testimony of this their approbation They have ordained the Same to be recorded in their book & Signed in presence by the Deacon.[1]

David Walker.

[11th September 1747.]

Nomina Concilii.

David Walker, Deacon	Peter Duncanson
David Tod	Paul Duncanson
John Duncanson	Tho: Honeyman

[16th September 1748.]

Nomina Concilii.

David Walker, Deacon	Peter Duncanson
Thomas Honeyman	Paul Duncanson
John Duncanson	David Tod

[8th September 1749.]

Anent ffremens Sones Entring to the

The Same Day, The Baxter Trade have Resolved and agreed, & hereby unanimously Resolve and agree, That in all tyme hereafter, whoever shall Enter to the freedom of this

[1] The Fife Lairds and burghers were not keen Jacobites, and the bakers were not like some in other parts of Scotland, where the English Commander could not be served with bread, so much so, that a writer of a letter in Cobham's Dragoons says 'we had certainly been starved had it not been his ['the darling of mankind' of the writer, the 'Bloody Cumberland' of the North] care to bring ovens and bakers with him.' But the St. Andrews' bakers do not appear to have rejoiced in the emphatic way in which the Coventry bakers did, who in 1746 spent 'att the Mermaid att the Rejoyceing for the Conquest of the Rebels by the Duke of Cumberland, £1 12 0.'

Trade as a freemans Son shall only pay Eighteen pounds Scots, which shall be in full of all Dues to the Baxter Trade, & this is Signed by the Deacon & Clerk, with Consent of the Trade, & by their order, date and place above Written. freedom of the Trade & what they shall pay

[15th September 1749.]

Nomina Concilii.

John Duncanson, D:	David Walker
Tho: Honeyman, Boxm^{r}	Paul Duncanson, elder
W^{m} Gib	David Tod

[14th September 1750.]

Nomina Concilii.

John Duncanson, D:	W^{m} Gib
Paul Duncanson, younger	Paul Duncanson
David Walker	David Tod

[13th September 1751.]

Nomina Concilii.

Jo: Duncanson, Deacon	David Walker
Paul Duncanson, younger	Deacon paul Duncanson
Conveener Gib	Andw Paterson

[22nd September 1752.]

Nomina Concilii.

Andrew Paterson, D:	John Duncanson
Paul Duncanson	Thomas Honeyman
Conveener Gib	David Tod

S^{t} Andrews, 20th October, 1752.

Which Day, John Mitchell, Son to the deceast [blank] Mitchell, Schoolmaster at Kilmany, was Entered ffiall to John Duncanson, Conveener of the Trades and one of the members of the Trade. . . . Jo: Mitchell ffiall to Conveener Duncanson

The Same Day, David Morton, Son to [blank] Morton in Pittenweem, was also entered ffiall to David Tod. . . . Da: Morton ffiall To Da: Tod

This day there was putt into the hands of paul Duncanson, Boxmaster[1] to the Baxter Trade, for[2] pounds Scots[3] against Candlemass, 1747 years, deduceing from the a[nnual] rent of that bill £8 Scots as two years officers fees.

P[atrick] W[ilson].

[From the foregoing there have been marked out:
[1] a bill by Deacon Paterson
[2] fifty five
[3] dated 7th ffebruary 1746 payable]

St Andrews, 23d March, 1753.

Da: Duncan ffiall to Conveener Duncanson

Which Day, David Duncan, Son to Archibald Duncan, sometime tennent in Cowbaikie, was Entered ffiall to John Duncanson, Brother of Trade & Conveener of the Trades of the City. . . .

[21st September 1753.]

Nomina Concilii.

Andrew Paterson, Deacon	Conveener Gib
David Tod, Boxmaster	Thos: Honeyman
Conveener Duncanson	Paul Duncanson

[27th September 1754.]

Nomina Concilii.

David Tod, Deacon	Conveener Gib
Conveener Duncanson	Deacon Paterson
Paul Duncanson	Thomas Honyman

St Andrews, 13th November 1754.

Which Day, I, William Dall, Son to Alexander Dall, Schoolmaster in Kilmeny, with Consent And advise of my father, and I, the said Alexander Dall, as taking burden on me for my said Son, and us both, with one Consent, Do, by these presents, Renounce, quit, and Give up all privilege and advantage whatsoever which I, the said Wm Dall, might have Claimed to the Libertys of the Baxter Trade as a freeman, In virtue of ane Indenture betwixt me & John Duncanson, Conveener of the Trades in St Andrews & one of the members of the Baxter Trade, And We Declare that the said William Dall shall never have it in his power to Enter as a freeman to the said Trade in the right of his having been ane apprentice In regard the Indenture is given up on account of Some differences that have lately arisen betwixt the said Wm Dall & the said John Duncanson.

Alexr Dall
William Dall

[14th March 1755.]

Ja: ffleeming ffial to Jo: Duncanson

The Same Day, James ffleeming, Son to Robert ffleeming, Tennent in ffordell, was Entered ffial to John Duncanson. . . .

[12th September 1755.]

Nomina Concilii.

Andrew paterson, D	Wm Gib
Paul Duncanson	David Tod
John Duncanson	Thomas Duncanson

St Andrews, 7th April, 1756.

Alexr Weir ffial to Jo: Duncanson

Which Day, Alexander Wier, Son to John Wier, Indweller in the City, was Entered ffial to John Duncanson. . . .

Jo: Leitch ffial to Jo: Duncanson

The Same Day, John Leitch, Son to the deceast John Leitch, late Baxter in St Monance, was also Entered ffial to the said John Duncanson. . . .

[10th September 1756.]

Nomina Concilii.

Andw paterson, D:	Conveener Duncanson
Thomas Duncanson	Paul Duncanson
Conveener Gib	Thomas Honeyman

[9th September 1757.]

Nomina Concilii.

Tho: Duncanson, D:	And: Paterson
Tho: Honyman, Boxmr.	Jo: Duncanson
Wm Gib	David Tod

[8th September 1758.]

Nomina Concilii.

Robt Walker, Deacon	David Tod
Paul Duncanson, BoxMr	Thos: Honyman
And: Paterson	Wm Gib

St Andrews, 18th september, 1758.

Wm Russell & Tho: ffair ffials to Jo: Duncanson

Which Day, William Russell, Son to George Russell, Baxter in the Ground of Reres, and Thomas ffair, Son to David ffair, Wright in Colinsburgh, deceast, were Entered ffials to John Duncanson. . . .

St Andrews, 27th June, 1759.

Three ffials to Thos. Duncanson

Which Day, William Melvill, Son to William Melvill, vintner in fferryportoncraig, James ffyell from Pittenweem, and William Lawson, Son to Robert Lawson, Shipmaster in Anstruther, were all Entered ffials to Thomas Duncanson. . . .

[14th September 1759.]

Nomina Concilii.

Thos Duncanson, D:	Jo: Duncanson
Paul Duncanson, Boxmr.	Rot Walker
Wm Gib	David Tod

St Andrews, 6th November, 1759.

Rot Young ffiall To Jo: Duncanson

Which Day, Robert Young, Lawfull Son to the deceast Robert Young, Mariner in Pittenweem, was Entered ffiall to John Duncanson. . . .

[12th September 1760.]

Nomina Concilii.

Thos Duncanson, D:	Wm Gib
Paul Duncanson	David Tod
Jo: Duncanson	Andw Paterson

[11th September 1761.]

Nomina Concilii.

Thos. Duncanson, D:	Jo: Duncanson
Alexr Paterson, Boxmaster	Paul Duncanson
Wm Gib	Andrew Paterson

[10th September 1762.]

Nomina Concilii.

Thos Honyman, Dn	David Tod
Alexr Paterson	Wm Gib
Thos Duncanson	Andw Paterson

St Andrews, 24th August, 1763.

This Day, Deacon Thomas Duncanson Declared before the Trade That Since the twenty Seventh of June Jajvijc. & fifty Nyne years he had the following ffials entered to him, to wit, Alexr Murray, George Thomson, & John Robertson.

The Same Day, Conveener John Duncanson had fials entered to him Since the Sixth of November, Jajvijc. & fifty nyne years, the following persones, to wit, John Gutcher, John Greig, Henry Melvill, and John Methven.

[9th September 1763.]

Nomina Concilli.

Thos Honyman, D:	Andw Paterson
Alexr Paterson, Boxmr	Jo: Duncanson
David Tod	Rot Walker

[14th September 1764.]

Nomina Concilii.

Thos Honeyman	Conveener Duncanson
Paul Duncanson	Deacon Paterson
Conveener Gib	Deacon Tod

St Andrews, 25th January, 1765.

Thos Braid ffial to Da: Tod

Which Day, Thomas Braid, Son to John Braid, fflesher in this City, was bound ffial to David Tod. . . .

And: Laying ffial to Alexr Paterson

The Same Day, Andrew Laing, Son to Thos Laying, in Rathillet, was bound ffial to Alexr Paterson. . . .

St Andrews, 19th ffebruary, 1766.

Admissio Thomae ffair

Which Day, Thomas Honeyman, late Deacon (In absence of David Tod, present Deacon, who is Indisposed), And Remanent Members of Trade, being Conveened, Thomas ffair, Lawfull Son of the deceast David ffair, fferrier in Colinburgh, was Admitted [etc.]

St Andrews, 17th March, 1766.

And: Duncan apprentice To Jo: Duncanson for 3 years

Which Day, Thomas Honyman, late Deacon of Trade (in absence of the present Deacon being in distress), and remanent members of Trade, being Conveened, Andrew Duncan, Son to George Duncan, tenant in Kingsbarns, was bound servant and apprentice to John Duncanson. . . .

[12th September 1766.]

Nomina Concilii.

Alexr Paterson, D:	Thos Duncanson
Paul Duncanson, Boxmr	Thos Honyman
Conveener Duncanson	Thos ffair

[11th September 1767.]

Nomina Concilii.

Tho Honyman, D.	Conveener Duncanson
Thos ffair, Boxm^{r}	D Alex^{r} Paterson
Thos Duncanson	Rob^{t} Walker

[9th September 1768.]

Nomina Concilii.

Thos Honeyman, D:	Rob^{t} Walker
Thos ffair, BoxM^{r}	Alex^{r} Paterson
Conveener Duncanson	Coline Tod

[8th September 1769.]

Nomina Concilii.

Thos Honeyman, D:	Rob^{t} Walker
Coline Tod, Boxm^{r}	Paul Duncanson
Conveener Duncanson	Thos ffair

[14th September 1770.]

Nomina Concilii.

Jo: Methven, D:	Rob^{t} Walker
Geo: Duncan, Boxmr	Thos Honeyman
Conveener Duncanson	Paul Duncanson

[13th September 1771.]

Nomina Concilii.

Geo: Duncan, D:	Tho^{s} Honeyman
Paul Duncanson, Boxm^{r}	Rob^{t} Walker
Conveener Duncanson	Rob^{t} Traill

[11th September 1772.]

Nomina Concilii.

George Duncan, D:	Thos Honeyman
Paul Duncanson, BoxM^{r}	Rob^{t} Walker
Jo Duncanson	And^{w} Duncan

S^{t} Andrews, 3^{d} september, 1773.

Admissio Thomæ Honeyman Juniores (sic)

Which Day, George Duncan, present Deacon, and Remanent Members of Trade, being Conveened, Thomas Honeyman, Second Lawfull Son of Thomas Honeyman, late Deacon of Trade, was admitted and Received into the whole freedom,

Libertys, privileges, and Immunitys of the said Baker Trade; who paid to the said Trade the Sum of Twelve pounds Scots for his said freedom, and which is hereby Enacted & Declared to be a rule in all tyme coming as to the dues of Admission of all freemens Sones to the freedom & Liberty of the said Baker Trade. . . .

[10th September 1773.]

Nomina Concilii.

Geo: Duncan, D:	Jo: Duncanson
Andw Duncan, Boxmr	Robt Walker
D: Thomas Honeyman	Paul Duncanson

[9th September 1774.]

Nomina Concilii.

Paul Duncanson, D:	Deacon Duncan
Andw Duncan	Thos Honeyman
Convr Duncanson	Robt Walker

[8th September 1775.]

Nomina Concilii.

Thos Honeyman, Elder, D.	Robt Walker
Andrew Duncan	George Duncan
Paul Duncanson	Thos Honeyman

[13th September 1776.]

Nomina Concilii.

Thos Honyman, Deacon	Robt Walker
Jo: Carstairs, BoxMr	Paul Duncanson
Geo: Duncan	Andw Duncan

[12th September 1777.]

Nomina Concilii.

Thos Honeyman, D:	Geo: Duncan
Wm Walker, BoxMr	Andw Duncan
Robt Walker	Paul Duncanson

[11th September 1778.]

Nomina Concilii.

The Whole Trade at present.

[10th September 1779.]

Nomina Concilii.

Andw Duncan, Deacon	Deacon Walker
Wm Walker, Boxmaster	Deacon Duncanson
Deacon Honeyman	Jas Motion

StAndrews, 11th Septr, 1779. Which Day, the Baker Trade Set to Thomas Brown, Landlabourer in St Andrews, their Acre of Land called the Weet Acre, And that for payment of one pound, six shillings, & six pence, Sterling, yearly, for nine years from Martimas nixt, Commencing his payment on the first day of September yearly, on which day nixt year he is to pay his rent for Cropt Mvijc. and Seventy eight. In witness of which Bargain these presents are Signed, date & place as above, by Andrew Duncan, Deacon of the Craft, and the said Thomas Brown, before these Witnesses, Christianus Adamson, Clerk to the Trades, writer hereof, and John Ramsay, Officer of the Customs in St Andrews.

Andrew Duncan
Thomas Brown

Chrisnus Adamson Witness
John Ramsay wittness

[8th September 1780.]

Eod. die Deacon Robert Walker was Elected by the Conveener and Deacons casting vote, owing to the votes being equal for him and Andrew Duncan, there being three votes on each side, And that as deacon for the ensuing year, who Accepted & made faith as use is. Against which Sentence of the Conveener & Deacons, Andrew Duncan Protested, & took Instruments, as he considered that the Deacon of trade was the only competent judge, & he had the casting voice which he took to himself, And required an Extract.

Stuart Grace Clk.

Eod. die
Nomina Concilii.

Dn Robert Walker	Thos Honeyman
James Motion	Paul Duncanson
Dn Duncan	William Walker

S^{t} Andrews, 13th October, 1780.

Which day, the Deacon and remanent Members of trade being properly mett and Conveened, Unanimously Resolve and Agree That in all time coming, no Member of trade shall take a prentice for less than three years service, And further Agree and Enact that no person shall be intitled to be admitted a freeman in said Baker trade unless such person shall have served at least three years full & compleat as a Journeyman[1] Baker in this or some other place. And they Ordain this to be standing act in time coming.

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[1] Journeymen. This is the first use of the word, and it is surprising to find it at such a late date as 1780. Before this, servicemen, servants, and fials were the words employed. These servants hired or feed themselves for a year's service, but by this time the contract would be considered of far too lengthy a period. Journeymen would describe better the men who entered the shorter periods of engagement. But the word was a very old one in trade use, and was earlier employed by bakers in other places. There are several tables of allowances given in *Artachthos* (published in 1638). The profits were based upon the expenses, and in three of the tables items are included for 'journeymen.' As these tables contain other and stranger items it may be interesting to state them.

In 1266, 51 H. 3. when wheat was at 12d the Quarter, which was as much as 3s at this day (i.e. 1638), the Baker was allowed

For	Three servants	1 2
	Two Lads	2
	Salt	2
	Yeast or Kneading	2
	Candle	1
	Wood	2 0
	His Boultell	2
	Two loaves for advantage and his bran	2
	In all	6d 1qr.

In the time of Edward I. the baker was allowed

		d.	q.
For	Growt and furning	3	0
	Wood	3	0
	The journeymen	3	2
	Two pages or Prentizes	1	2
	Salt		2
	Yeast		2
	Candles		2
	His ty-dog		2
	And his bran. in all	1s	1d

St Andrews, 1st ffeby, 1781.

Which day, the Deacon & remanent Members of trade being mett & conveened, And Considering that great inconveniences have of late arisen to the Baker Trade, to the great hurt & detriment thereof, by certain Members of trade

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Anno 1495. 12 Henry 7. when the best wheat sold at 7s the quarter:—

		d.
For	Furnace and Wood	6
	The Miller	4
	Two Journeymen and two Apprentizes	5
	Salt, Yeast, Candle and Sack-bands	2
	Himself, his House, his Wife, his Dog, and his Cat	7
	In all	2s 0d

And the Branne to his advantage.

1592. 34 Eliz. when best Wheat was at 21s. and 4d., etc.—

		s.	d.
For	Fuell		6
	Two Journeymen and two boyes	1	8
	Yeast	1	0
	Candles and Salt		4
	Himself, his wife, children, and house rent	2	0
	The Millers Tole	1	4
	In all	6	10

In the first of these extracts the assistants are called servants, in the remainder we have journeymen; a term not used, as far as the Records are concerned, until 1780. An old Aberdeen statute refers to 'jurnayboyes,' and distinguishes between them and feed apprentices and servants. As far back as 1481, in the Ratification of the Exeter Gild of Cordwainers provision is made for the election of four wardens each year, two from amongst the shopkeepers and two others 'jorneymen.' A reference—the only one—in the York Ordinary would almost imply that journeymen were men who were only occasionally employed. The date is 1581; 'that if anye jurneyman of the sayd occupacion, which haith his lyuinge amonges the maisters of the sayd crafte, in helpinge them to bake when ther need is, dothe promise anie maister to come, and helpe him to bake at tyme appointed, and the sayd jorneyman go to an other to worke, and disapoint the maister he promised before to helpe,—shall forfaite for every offence iijs. iiijd.' A somewhat similar meaning is given to the word by the resolution of the Dundee Craft more than a century after. In 1697 the trade thought that 'no jornyman' should come to work in Dundee as long as local labour could be employed in the person of free masters and apprentices. The shoemakers had a regular list of journeymen, the first entry being in 1674. The entrants paid an entry fee to the trade, paid a marriage fee, and enjoyed certain trade advantages.

giving fourtein rolls for six pence,[1] They therefore unanimously Resolve & Agree that in all time coming, No Member of trade shall give more than one Roll, bap, or any other sort of bread whatever to the dozen to Retailers or any other person, Nor give any other Consideration whatever to any person that sells their bread, further than a bitt of bread or a Cockernony[2] to a Child. And if any Member of trade shall be convicted of disobeying this act, he shall be fined in the fine of five pounds Sterling for contraveening the præmisses, and sett aside till he pay said fine. And we further agree & authorise the Clerk to Extend a formal Contract upon Stamped paper to the above purpose.

Robt Walker
Thomas Honeyman
James Motion — Paul Duncanson
Thomas Nisbet — Andrew Duncan
Willm Walker

[15th June 1781.]

Follows a Petition & Deliverance thereon given in to the Conveener Court by Peter Smith, Deacon of the Weavers, viz.

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[1] The elastic 'bakers' dozen' had extended from the thirteen that had called forth the disapprobation of the trade in 1664, to the same number as had been legalised by the Coventry tradesmen. The gravity of the offence is evident from the formal contract which was made.

[2] Cockernony; a small bun or scone given to a child that came for its parents' bread. It was placed upon the top of the loaf, hence its name, and pushed to the messenger. Jamieson does not give it in this connection, but explains that cockernonny is the gathering of a young womans' hair, when it is wrapt up in a band or fillet. He gives the derivation from Teut. *koker*, a case, and *nonne*, a nun. In *Hallowfair*, Fergusson sings:

'There's fouth of braw Jockies and Jennies
Comes weel-busked into the fair,
With ribbons on their cockernonies,
And fouth o' fine flour on their hair.'

It also occurs in the old, somewhat broad song *A Cock laird, fu' cadgie*, which Stenhouse states to be erroneously attributed to Ramsay—

'Gin I gae alang wi' you,
I maun hae a silk hood,
A kirtle-sark, wylie-coat,
And a silk snood,
To tye up my hair in a
Cockernonie.'

UNTO The Honourable the Conveener of the Trades of S^{t} Andrews and Remanent Members of that Court, The Information and Petition of Peter Smith, present Deacon of the Weavers,

Humbly Sheweth

That it has been the Uniformal & Immemorial practice of the Seven Trades of S^{t} Andrews, when proceeding to the Annual Election of Deacons, &c., For the Deacon of Each Trade to give out a Leet, out of which the Trade must Chuse a Deacon, with this Exception, That if the Trade Shall disapprove of the Leet So given out, They can Call the Conveener and the other Six Deacons, who have power Either to Sustain the Leet given out, OR to add a man, if they think it not full enough. That Notwithstanding this has been the Constant Immemorial Rule of proceeding There are Some designing Members of the Weaver Trade, who wish to Introduce a very different and Impolitic mode of Election, And with this view they have Artfully formed a party, who, as the petitioner is Informed, mean to take the first opportunity of the Trades Book being produced at a Meeting To Cancell, by a vote, the former practice of the Deacons giving out the Leet, And to Enact That in time coming the Leet shall be Voted & made up by the Trade at Large, AND this Enactment is to be Immediately Inserted in the Trade's Book.

The Petitioner being Convinced that Such an Innovation must be productive of very disagreeable Consequences, and create much Confusion and Constant disturbance in the Trade, Besides Depriving the Deacon of a power, which our Forefathers, for Generations past, thought prudent to Lodge in him, It's thought adviseable to give this Intimation of their pernicious Schemes That Steps may be taken to Counteract them.

May it therefore please your Honours to take the premisses under Consideration and to proceed therein as to your Wisdoms shall Seem Meet.

(Signed) Peter Smith.

St Andrews, 5th June, 1781.

The Court having Considered this Information & petition, are Clearly of opinion, Nemine Contradicente, That it is not in the power of the Weaver, or any other Trade, by private vote of their own, to alter the present mode of giving out the Leets by their Deacon, without the Authority of the Court of Session, AND THEREFORE DID and hereby DO PROHIBITE and DISCHARGE the said Weaver Trade and all the other Trades from making any alteration from the present practice of Leeting by their Deacon According to Immemorial Usage, Under the penalty of FIVE pounds Sterling, Toties quoties, And appoint this Act to be Inserted in the Conveener's Book, and in Each of the Seven Trades their Books, under the above penalty. And this Notwithstanding any Act or Acts in any of the Trades Books made to the Contrary of this present Act.[1]

Stuart Grace, Clk.

George Thomson, Convr
William Tillas, Decon
Alexr Reid, D.
Robt Walker, D.
A B
Andrew Thomson
Peter Smith

[14th September 1781.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon Walker
Paul Duncanson
James Motion
Thos Nisbet
Dn Honeyman
Wm Walker

[1] This indicates the rising of the wave of reform that was ultimately to sweep the exclusive privileges of the Incorporations into the limbo of good things that have served their days and the generations 'lest one good custom should corrupt the world.' Gradually a more liberal spirit was appearing to direct the affairs of the trades everywhere, although it was several years before success was attained. Some time before, in 1774, the Glasgow bakers allowed freemen residing within two miles of the town to use their mills and to vote for officers, and although this was to a great extent to assist the business of the mills, it still showed a greater spirit of freedom than of old.

[13th September 1782.]

Nomina Concilii.

Dn Walker	Thos Nisbet
James Motion	Paul Duncanson
Andw Duncan	Wm Walker

Eod. die, Andw Duncan represented that a practise had for a long time prevailed among the Seven trades, greatly to the prejudice and conducive of bad Agreement among them, to this effect, That the Deacon has it in his power to give out a List for Deacon and Boxmaster, & when the trade is not satisfied they are obliged to have Recourse to the Conveener & his Deacons to get a man added, As also when the votes for Deacon happen to be equal the Conveener & his Deacons have the casting vote and not the Deacon of trade, & moved that that practise be abolished. Which being considered by the trade, they, by a Majority of votes, Ordain that in all time coming, when the Deacon gives out a Leet for Deacon or Boxmaster not satisfactory to the trade, The trade shall have it in their power to vote one or more men, and they also ordain that the Deacon shall have the casting voice in his own trade, And they ordain this to be a standing act in time coming.

[13th September 1783.]

Nomina Concilii.

Dn Wm Walker	Deacon Duncan
Thos Nisbet	James Motion
Dn Robt Walker	Thos Honeyman

St Andrews, 22 March, 1784.

Which day, the Deacon & Remanent Members of Trade being mett & Conveened, And Considering that many of the Incorporations in Scotland labour under heavy Restrictions, burdens, & Inconveniences Respecting their Elections of Deacon, and Anent the mode of Leeting, &c., And seeing that it appears to be the general wish & oppinion of the Country that the Elections not only of Deacons but that of Magistrates and Members of parliament should be put upon

a more broad & equal footing than the present mode of Elections, And as Delegates are appointed from different Burghs to meet at Edinburgh,[1] the twenty fifth Curt, in order to consider of a proper plan to bring about a Reformation as above, The trade appoint the present Deacon & Boxmaster as a Committee of their number to meet with the Committees to be appointed by the other Incorporated trades of this place, and Chuse & Elect a Delegate to Represent the trades of St Andrews at the above mentioned convention at Edinburgh, and whatever expence shall be attendant upon the said delegates going to Edinburgh, Or in any of the Deliberations there that may be approven of by him, The Trade bind and oblige themselves to bear an equal proportion thereof with the other Incorporated trades Agreeing to such a Resolution.

[The following minute after having been written in full, has been crossed out without any reason being given.]

St Andrews, 16th July, 1784.

Re Miller

The Deacon and Remanent Members of Trade being mett and Conveened, And it being Represented to them that one Alexr Miller, had come to this place and Commenced the Baker bussiness, That upon the Deacon and Boxmaster hearing of his Intention, they Caused the Clerk draw out a Petition and Complaint to lay before the Magistrates to get him, the said Alexr Miller, Interdicted and Discharged from working or Carrying on the Baker bussiness till such time as he satisfied the Trade what title he had to exercise said

[1] This was another, and a great step, on the road to reform. The statement as to the general wish and opinion throughout the country, is borne out by similar resolutions passed by the bakers of Glasgow and Dundee. The above resolution was passed upon 22nd March 1784, and that of Glasgow, expressing favour towards reformation of the constitution of the Burgh, which was considered to be unfavourable to the political importance and liberty of the citizens, and appointing delegates to attend the conference at Edinburgh, to consider the constitution of burghs and parliamentary representation, was passed on 19th February. Dundee had been moving in the matter before, for on 24th February of the preceding year, the baking trade had expressed a desire for reform in Kirk and State, and had agreed to advertise, in the Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen newspapers, their opinions, and their desire to co-operate with likeminded bodies.

bussiness, That the said Alex^{r} Miller was Accordingly Interdicted from acting as a Master till such time as he should show his right as above, and he would in consequence of said Interdict have stop't carrying on bussiness, having, as he acknowledged himself, no legal Certificate to show of his having served on board his Majesties navy, The only title he pretended to Claim upon, When to the surprise and astonishment of the whole Trade, Thomas Honeyman, one of the Members thereof, Enters into Collusion with him, the said Alex^{r} Miller, and under the Cloak of him, the said Tho^{s} Honeyman, exercises & carries on the baker bussiness, pretending that he is only the servant of said Thomas Honeyman & that the bussiness is wholly his, & this notwithstanding of its being well known in Town that Miller had taken said Tho^{s} Honeymans Bakehouse & agreed to give him Five pounds Sterling of yearly rent therefore. The Trade Considering the Conduct of the said Tho^{s} Honeyman as hurtfull to the privileges, freedom, & liberties of all Incorporated Societies & that if such practises are Countenanced by Incorporated members & no proper Check put to the same That it will in the End land in the ruin of every Incorporated Society,—The Trade therefore Did & hereby Do unanimously fine and amerciate the said Tho^{s} Honeyman in the sum of Forty pounds Scots for his said transgression, and Did, & hereby Do, lay him aside for his said transgression untill he pay said fine & make an acknowledgement to the Trade for his Conduct.[1]

[1] The abuse which found a participant in the representative of the family so long connected with the trade, was one of very long standing, and numerous efforts had been made in various places to prevent it. It was destined to become still more prevalent, and even now, after trading privileges have long since disappeared, the principle of it has not been extinguished in those professions where licentiates can serve those who are not members of the professions, but who are willing to invest capital in them. There are several lines in which a partner can lend his qualification to the firm of which he is a member. The question rose again in 1788, when Thomas Honeyman was again charged with protecting a journeyman, named Thomas Gourlay, under the pretence that he was a partner. London freemen, in the time of Edward I., were prevented under pain of losing their freedom, from holding partnership with strange men or avowing their merchandise. In 1707 it was forbidden to the Pastrycooks of Paris and to their widows to lend their names to any journeymen to carry on

10 Septr 1784.

Nomina Concilii.

Dn Wm Walker	Dn Andrew Duncan
Thos Nisbet	Jas Motion
Dn R Walker	Paul Duncanson

IN VERTUE of and In Obedience to an Act of the Conveener Court, The following is Ingrossed, viz.,

St Andrews, 30th Novemr, 1784.

Which day, there was laid before the Conveener & his Court A PETITION from the Deacon and the remanent Members of the wright Trade, Setting furth, That the wright Trade Considered their liberties much Incroached upon by Neutralls working under the protection of Widows, who, to their knowlege, Neither purchased the Materials, nor Sold the work, nor Employed the Journeymen in their own Name, nor Received Shop rent, or had any particular profit for Said work, AND THEREFORE PRAYING The Court would take the premisses under their particular Consideration And take every proper and legall Step & Measure in their power for putting a Stop to, and preventing, Effectually preventing (sic), the widows, as well as the Freemen, from Incroaching upon their privileges in time coming, under the Sircumstances above mentioned & Described. The Court, having taken the above Receited petition under their serious Consideration, Are unanimously of opinion, That above practices are very prejudicial to the Interest of the whole Incorporated Trades, And if not Effectually Checked and prevented, must lead to the Ruine & Destruction of their priviledges. THEREFORE they (the Said Conveener Court) DID, and hereby DO, Resolve and

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business. In 1719 the bakers were debarred from 'associating' themselves with any who were not masters, under the penalty of one hundred pounds, and the journeyman or apprentice who was thus associated was liable to be kept from starting business during the pleasure of the trade. In a petition of William Dowie (12th July 1783) against the bakers of Edinburgh, he instances that in 1766 a shoemaker named Murray entered into a contract with an unfreeman, whereby the latter became a partner, and enjoyed all the privileges of the Shoemakers' Corporation. That body took action, and founded upon a provision of their Seal of Cause: 'That no freeman pack, or peel, nor be partners with unfreemen, nor make conventions with them.'

Determine to Check the above practices in time coming, And Ordain all and every Trade, wherein there there (sic) are any Such Transgressors upon their liberties, To prosecute the Delinquents to the outmost and prevent So growing an evill. AND ALSO DECLARE That if any widow or freeman Transgressors of this our publick Act That they shall be held and Declared Incapable of Carrying on Said Trade and Cutt off from Said Trade & whole privileges thereof, And They Ordain the Said Act to be Ingrossed in the whole Seven Trades books.

(Signed) David Arnot. Stuart Grace, Clk.

9th Septem^{r} 1785.

Nomina Concillii.

Deacon W^{m} Walker	Deacon A Duncan
Thomas Nisbett	Paul Duncanson
Deacon Rob^{t} Walker	James Motion

S^{t} Andrews, Sept^{r} 8th, 1786.

the tread beaing met this day, and taking to Consideration beaing so fwe Members, and mutaly agreaid by a majority to pleace a facter in pleace of Boxmaster, till we have more in number of tread, and that the Decon to be Chosan first, and this act to stand good till we have more members, atestead by

Decon Will^{m} Walker
Rob^{t}: Walker
James Motion

S^{t} Andrews, 8th Sep^{r}, 1786.

Nomina Concilii.

James Motion	And^{w} Duncan
Deacon W^{m} Walker	James Motion
Dea: Rob^{t} Walker	Tho^{s} Honeyman

[28th November 1786.]

SAME DAY being Conveened as above, The Trade Unanimously resolve and agrée, and Hereafter enact and Ordain, that no Member of Trade shall hereafter Bake a Peck of Meal under the sum of one penny St^{r}, And two pence half-

penny for selling each Peck of Bran. And if any Member Transgress said Act they shall be Liable to the penalty of Twenty shillings Stʳ And be laid aside till said fine be paid. In witness whereof these presents are signed, date as above, by the Deacon and all the Members Present.

James Motion, Den.
Willᵐ Walker
Thomas nisbet — Robᵗ Walker
John Kirk — Thomas Honeyman
Paul Duncanson
Andrew Duncan

Sᵗ Andrews, 23ᵈ Janʸ, 1787.

Which day, the Deacon & Remanent Members of Trade being mett & Conveened, Alexʳ Wilson, son of William Wilson, merchant in Sᵗ Andrews, Agreed & hereby becomes bound to serve Wᵐ Walker, a Member of Trade, as an Apprentice for three years & a half from Martimass last, And the said William Wilson hereby takes burden & becomes bound that his son shall faithfully & honestly serve the above space, And also obliges himself to enter into a formal Indenture to that effect whenever required so to do by the said William Walker, & which Indenture shall contain all necessary and usual Clauses And under a Penalty of Thirty pounds Scots. And the said William Wilson instantly paid all dues of Trade.

Willᵐ Walker
Stuart Grace, Clk. — Alexander Wilson
William Wilson

Sᵗ Andrews, 12 March, 1787.

Act Anent Entrys

WHICH DAY, the deacon and remanent members of trade being mett and Conveened, They hereby Agree and Stipulate that the Entry of ffreeman Prentices to said Trade shall be highted to the sum of Fourteen pounds Sterling, And all other small dues as ordinary, And that the entry of a Neutral to said Trade shall be twenty two pounds Sterling, with all other small dues as usual, And that the entry of Freemens sons shall be One pound Sterling, with the Sey,

all other dues being paid. Which Act above written they hereby ordain to be a precedent in all time Coming.

James Adamson, Clk Dpt.

Thomas Nisbet	James Motion, Den
Will^{m} Walker	Rob^{t} Walker
John Kirk	Andrew Duncan

S^{t} Andrews, 21st March, 1787.

WHICH DAY, the Deacon and remanent members of the Baker trade being mett and Conveened, John Craig, Lawfull Son of Peter Craig, Brewer in S^{t} Andrews, was Bound apprentice to Thomas Nisbet, a Member of Trade, for the space of four and a half years from Candlemass last, notwithstanding the date hereof. . . .

S^{t} Andrews, 12th April, 1787.

Which day, the Trade being mett for the purpose following, viz^{t}: Whereas the said trade, upon the second day of said month of April last, Exposed to public roup and Sale these two acres of Land presently belonging to them, One thereof lying in the South haugh,[1] And the other, called the wett Acre, And the same to be entered into at at (sic) the terms following, The said Acre of Land in the South haugh to be entered into immediately, And the other called the wett Acre, to be entered into at Michaelmas first, And the rent thereof to be paid at the first of September yearly, And the same to be sett for the space of years after mentioned. At which roup in respect there Compeared none to offer more for said Acre of Land than Deacon Robert Walker and Deacon Andrew Duncan, members of said Trade, therefore they were preferred by said trade purchasers thereof, at the respective prices offered by them, viz^{t}, the sum of One pound, Sixteen shillings, Offered by the said Deacon Walker for said wett Acre, & the sum of One pound, thirteen shillings, Sterling, offered by the said Deacon Duncan for the said South haugh Acre, THERFOR, WITT YE US, the said Trade, in Corroboration & fulfilment

[1] South Haugh was situated on the south side of Blackfriars Yard.

of our part of said Articles of roup, Have sett & in tack & Assedation, Letts To the said Deacon Walker, the said Wett Acre, And to the said Deacon Duncan, to the south haugh Acre, & that for payment of the respective prices above mentioned, And that for the Space of Nine years full and Compleat, And to be enterd into as above, Commencing their respective payments as follows, viz^{t}. That of the wett Acre, the first of September, Mvijc. & eighty nine, And that of the Acre in the South haugh, the first of September, Mvijc. & eighty eight, And so furth yearly during the Continuance of this tack. And it is hereby expressely provid & Declared that if the said rents be not duly paid at the space above mentioned, then & in that case, the said Acres of Land shall fall & belong to said Baker Trade, in like manner as if the above had not been granted. In witness wherof these presents are signed, place & date as above, by James Motion, present Deacon, and the said Deacon Walker & Deacon Duncan, Before these witnesses, James Adamson (Clerk to Stuart Grace, Town Clerk of S^{t} Andrews & Clerk to said Trade), writer thereof And Robert Coldstream, mason in S^{t} Andrews.

James Motion, D^{n}
Robert Coldstream, Witnes — Rob^{t} Walker
James Adamson, witness — Andrew Duncan

S^{t} Andrews, 11th June, 1787.

Admission of David Wallace

Which day, the Deacon & remanent Members of Trade being mett & Conveened, David Wallace, son of the deceast George Wallace, Tenant in Lumbo, was admitted & received into the haill freedom. . . .

[14th September 1787.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon Motion — D^{n} W^{m} Walker
John Kirk — D^{n} And^{w} Duncan
Deacon R. Walker — D^{n} Tho^{s} Honeyman

S^{t} Andrews, 15th July 1788.

Which day, the Deacon & Remanent Members of trade being mett and Conveened, And Considering that Thomas

Honeyman, a Member of Trade, has been for some time past in the practise of supporting and protecting one Thomas Gourlay, by trade a Baker, under the pretext of his, Gourlay, being his Journeyman, or at least being in Copartnership with him, Tho in Reality No such thing exists, as he, Gourlay, this day Refused to make oath to a written Agreement subsisting betwixt them when called upon for that purpose, The Trade look upon this Conduct of Thomas Honeyman as altogether illegall, Therefore they Did, & hereby Do, fine & Amerciate him in the sum of Ten pounds Scots for his Transgression And sett him aside till he pay said fine & make satisfaction to the Trade.

12th Septr, 1788.

Nomina Concilii.

James Motion	Dn Wm Walker
John Kirk	Deacon Duncan
Dn Robt Walker	Deacon Duncanson

St Andrews, 11 Septr, 1789.

Which day, the Deacon & Remanent Members of Trade being mett & Conveened, within the Porch door, And Thomas Honeyman, Baker, having made satisfaction to the Trade by Paying the sum of Ten pounds Scots, being a fine Inflicted upon him for a Transgression recited in an Act of the 15th July, 1788, The Trade repone him to the Privileges.

Same day, the Trade considering that their Patrimony is very much hurt by several Members running in Arrear & taking no means to pay the same, tho often called upon for that effect, The Trade therefore Resolve and Determine that in all time coming no Member of Trade who is any ways in Arrear or addebted to the Trade shall have a voice either in the Election of Boxmaster or Deacon at their annual Elections. And the Trade Resolve & agree that this shall be a standing act in all time coming, as the Salutary Effects of it have been already found by several of the other Incorporated Trades who have adopted the measure. And the Trade

Enact that no person sett aside as above shall have a voice in the Repeal of this act.

Stuart Grace, Clk.	x James Motion	x Andrew Duncan
x John Niven	x John Kirk	x David Wallace
x Henry Berwick	x Thomas nisbet	

11 Septr, 1789.

Nomina Concilii.

Dn Andw Duncan	Robt Walker
John Kirk	Thos Nesbit
Jas Motion	Alexr Duncan

St Andrews, 5 August, 1790.

Which day, the Deacon and Remanent Members of Trade being Mett & Conveened, And Considering that William Walker, a Member of Trade, has for a considerable past kept Charles Aitken as an Apprentice Against the Laws of the Trade, Therefore they hereby fine and Amerciate him, the said William Walker, in the Sum of Ten pounds Scots money for his Transgression, And sett him aside till he pay said fine & make satisfaction to the Trade.

[10th September 1790.]

Nomina Concilii.

Andrew Duncan	John Kirk
David Wallace	Thos Nesbit
James Motion	John Niven

St Andrews, 1 December, 1790.

Which day, The Deacon and remanent Members of Trade being Mett & Conveened, And Considering That David Tullis has of late come to this place and begun to carry on the Bakeing Trade without being entered to the freedom of said Trade, he having refused to pay the fees of Entry, Agreeable to the Act of Trade of the twelvth March, One Thousand, Seven hundred, & Eighty seven, The Trade therefore Resolve and Agree immediately to apply to the Sherriff by Petition and Complaint to Obtain the said David Tullis interdicted and Discharged from Carrying on his Trade as a Baker in this place, & that Ay and Untill he enter with said Trade and

pay the fees of Entry Agreeable to the before recited Minute, And they Also resolve, by a great Majority, That whatever expence may happen to be incurred in carrying on this process That the same shall be paid out of the funds of Trade.

Andrew Duncan, D.
John Kirk — Thomas Honeyman
Paul Dunson (sic) — Robert Walker
James Motion
Thomas nisbet

S^{t} Andrews, 18 June, 1791.

Which day, the Deacon & remanent Members of Trade being mett & Conveened, Henry Berwick, lawfull son of William Berwick, Tenant in Balrymonth, was Admitted and received into the haill freedome, liberties and priviledges of the Baker Trade, And he made faith as use is, And is to serve as Officer for a year, And he paid down all dues of Trade, being Fourteen Pounds Sterling besides the small dues.

Henry Berwick at same time protested that notwithstanding of his acquiesing with the present fees that he should be at liberty to age against the trade for repetition to him of the additional rise of fees since he became an apprentice.

9 September 1791.

Nomina Concilii.

Andrew Duncan	John Kirk
David Wallace	Robert Walker
James Motion	Thomas Nisbet

14th Sept^{r} 1792.

Nomina Concilii.

John Kirk	Andrew Duncan
David Wallace	Robert Walker
James Motion	Thomas Nisbet

13 Sept^{r} 1793.

Nomina Concilii.

John Kirk	Andrew Duncan
Henry Berwick	Robert Walker
James Motion	David Wallace

[The following minute begins at the top of a page; the top is torn away, hence the date and part of the minute are gone. The probable words are supplied in brackets.]

Which day, the [Deacon and remanent members of the] Baker Trade being met and conveened, They unanimously agreed to sell and disp[one] To John Niven, Baker in S^{t} Andrews, at the price of Twenty seven pounds, Sterling, All and whole the Eastermost four Ridges of Land of All and whole that their portion of the South Haugh of S^{t} Andrews, lying upon the South side of the Black friars yeard, bounded as in a disposition to the Baker Trade, dated the seventeenth day of december mvijc. and seventy nine, by Alexander Fowles and his Curators, and the said John Niven being present, accepted & agreed to pay the said price at the term of Martinmas first, and to enter thereto at said term; And they appoint John Kirk, Deacon, and Henry Berwick, Boxmaster to the said Trade, and Committee to sign the disposition to the purchaser. It being understood & agreed upon that the purchaser is to relieve the Trade of the expences of the disposition.

John Kirk
Will^{m} Walker
Henry Berwick
David Wright, Clk dep^{t} John Niven
David Wallace
James Motion

12 Sept^{r} 1794.

Nomina Concilii.

John Kirk	William Walker
James Motion	Andrew Duncan
David Wallace	John Niven

11 Sept^{r} 1795.

Nomina Concilii.

David Wallace	D^{n} Kirk
George Kirk	D^{n} Duncan
James Motion	Rob Walker

S^{t} Andrews, 18th December, 1795.

Which day, the deacon & remanent members of Trade being mett and conveened, The deacon informed the meeting That he had been called last (sic) to attend a meeting of the Magistrates respecting the division of the Town Church, which was likely soon to take place.[1] That at that Meeting, he and the other deacons of the different Crafts were requested by the præses to Call a meeting of their respective Trades and state the same to them, and to beg to be informed, what number of Bottom rooms they intended to take of the Church. The Meeting having taken the same into consideration are unanimously of opinion that the Trade ought to take FORTY Bottom rooms in the Church, and they hereby authorize and empower the deacon to subscribe for that number accordingly, and the Trade hereby Bind & oblige themselves and their

[1] The rebuilding of the Church did not take place until 1798, so that the seat-letting or disposition was in good time. The tower, some pillars, and arches were allowed to remain. The new building no doubt secured the approbation of the citizens, but before long it lost favour. Dr Rogers, in 1849, gave it a high character, after some alterations had been made upon it. But this, too, has changed, and a scheme of rebuilding is now fairly well advanced, and the old site that has been so often utilised with buildings for the worship of God will see yet another change. The Aberdeen bakers were a most exemplary body as far as seat-owning went. They had seats in the Parish Kirk and also in the Trinity Kirk. When the latter was sold the trade erected a loft in St. Paul's Episcopal Church, the Aberdeen bakers, strangely enough, being mostly Episcopalians. The above entry is the first indication that the bakers were entitled to seats in the Church, but the connection of the Aberdeen bakers with their Parish Kirk had come to an end in 1740. The bakers agreed to a resolution of the Convener's Court as follows: 'The Convener Court, considering the several Acts of the corporations of the Trades of this burgh concerning the seats and lofts belonging to the Trades of this burgh in this old and new churches, they unanimously ratifie, homologat, and approve the same, and grant warrant to the convener, in conjunction with the deacons and paymasters of the several corporations, to renounce and assigne in favour of the Magistrates and Town Council of this burgh with the powers to them and their successors to sit and dispose of the same to any persons they please in time coming. But with preference always to any freeman who shall incline to take seats or lofts pertaining to that trade whereof they are members. And in consideration that the Magistrates and Council pass from any byegane rents that may be claimed for the said seats and lofts for the time byegane, the Court hereby earnestly recommend to their successors and to the haill trades to contribute generously to the repair of the old church how soon the same shall be begun to be repaired.'

successors in office to pay such price or value as shall be sett thereon, & that either to the Magistrates and Toun Council of St Andrews or any person having authority to receive the same, at whatever period the same shall be required.

St Andrews, 30th Janyr, 1796.

Which day, the Deacon and Remnant members of Trade being met, agrees to Set for the term of twelve Years from the term of Mairtiemus 1795, that Ackre of Land belonging to the Baker Trade, Called the Wett Ackre, to James Herd, Landlabrer in St Andrews, for the Rent of one Pound, Sixteen Shillings, Sterling, which Rent they Oblidge to be Paid at Whitchenday 1797, for the first Year, & at that time twelve months everey year theirafter; and they Accept of the offer of James Johnston, Merchant in St Andrews for his Cautioner; & the Trade Alowes to him the Prevaledge of taking what Stones he may wese for Draining the said ackre of Land, but for no other Purpose, before these witness, Robert Cunnings & Samuell Gipson

David Wallace, Deacon
Samuel Gibson, wites — James Herd
Robert Connenes, wites — James Johnston

St Andrews, 30th Janyr, 1796.

Which Day, the Deacon & Remnant Members of Trade being met, agrees to set for the Term of Tuelve Years from the Term of Mairtmus, 1795, that Ackre of Land belonging to the Baker Trade, Called the Middle Shod, to William Wallker, Baker in St Andrews, for the rent of two pounds, fifteen Shillings, Sterling; Which Rent they oblidge to be paid at Whitchenday, 1797, for the first year, and that that time twelve months every Year thierafter, & they accept of the offer of Samwel Lawrance, Edinburgh Carrier, for his Cautioner before these Witnesses

× David Wallace, Deacon
× William Walker
× } [No signatures of witnesses.]
×

St. Andrews, 17 August 1796.

Same day, the Trade resolve, & Agree, and Enact that

in all time coming No neutral or person that has not served a regular Apprenticeship to a Member of Trade shall be admitted & received into the freedom and Liberties of the Baker Trade Unless he pays the sum of Thirty pounds Sterling for his freedom, And the Trade ordain this to be a Standing regulation in all time coming.

9th Septr, 1796.

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon Wallace	Deacon Robt Walker
George Kirk	Deacon Andr Duncan
Convr Motion	Deacon Willm Walker

8 Septr, 1797.

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon & Boxmaster	James Motion
John Kirk	Henry Berwick
David Wallace	

St Andrews, 3d Octr, 1797.

Which Day, the Deacon & Remnant Members of Trade being met, agrees to Let in tack to Samwel Lawrance, Edinr Carrier in St Andrews, The Middele Shod of Land Commonly so-called, belonging to them, for Eleven Years, from & after the Term of Mairtimus, 1796, for the Space of Eleven Years, at the Rent of Two Pounds, fifteen Shillings, Sterling, Yearly, & to be paid at Whitchunsday 1798 for the first year, & to be paid Everey Year their after Duely, & they Accept of Alexander Aughterlonie, Shoe Maker heare, as his Cawtioner, before these Witness, James Hill, Weaver in Fisherrow, & Robert Niven, Merchant in St Andrews. . . .

14 Sept, 1798.

Counsel.

Deacon & Boxmaster	Convener Motion
Robert Walker	John Kirk
George Kirk	

13th Septr, 1799.

Council.

Deacon & Boxmaster	
Robert Walker	Convener Motion
George Kirk	John Kirk

St Andrews, Juley 31st, 1800.

Which Day,[1] the Deacon & Remnant Members of Trade being met, have Resolved to ballot for Nine of their Dasks, Leaving out the Loat 173, they being Nine Members in Toun at preasant, when the Different agreements was made by the Trade that each member agrees to pay One Shilling for each bottom room before enterey, & the Same is for One Year from & after this Date untill the Night before the Election 1801, & So on so Long as the Trade agrees, The following members has got the following Lot, viz.

Wm Walker 181	John Kirk 184	Robt Duncan 176
John Niven 182	David Wallace 185	George Kirk 175
Robt Walker 183	Hendry Berwick 177	James Motion 174
Alexr Wilson 173		

John Niven, Deacon

St Andrews, 28th July, 1800.

Whereas the Town Church is now repaired and a Division has taken place, the following Seats was allotted to the Baker trade, by Neil Ferguson, Esquire, Commissioner appointed by the Lords of Council & Session to divide said Church, vizt, No 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, all in the ground Area, And the Trade has Unanimously agreed to accept of said Seats for their portion of the Church as above.

John Grace, Clk Dept.
John Niven, Deacon
Henry Berwick
John Kirk
David Wallace
Robert Duncan
William Walker
George Kirk
Robert Walker
James Motion

St Andrews, Septr 11th, 1800.

Which Day, the Trade being Met, awthorises & em-

[1] The minute of July 31st has been inserted in a blank space and is out of its proper place. Alex. Wilson, who got lot 173, has written his name on the margin.

powres John Niven, Deacon, & Hendrie Berruick, Boxmaster, to grant their Conjunct Acceptance to the Bank heare[1] for the Sume of Fifty two Pounds, Sterling, for the Behoof of the Said Trade and that Sume was to pay the Ballance due for their Seats in the Town Church.

John Niven, Deacon	John Kirk
Henry Berwick, Box^{r}	David Wallace
James Motion	George Kirk
Robert Walker	Robert Duncan

Note—This Book contains 172 folios Complete, including this, besides two additional folios respectively marked 67 & 86.

Tho. Landale.

[The following is on same page which is torn somewhat. The probable words awanting are printed in brackets.]

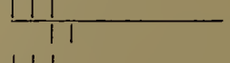
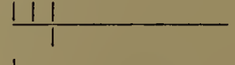
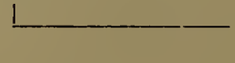
S^{t} Andrews, 13 Dec^{r}, 1796.

[Which day,] the Deacon and Remanent members [of Trade] being mett and conveened, John Motion, [son of] Robert Motion, in Baldinny Mill, [is] bound apprentice to John Kirh, a Member of Trade, for the space of Three years from Martinmas last. . . .

[On last page:—]

32 S. F D

[On back of last page are the following marks, indicating the voting at an election of Deacon:—]

Dav. Walker	
David Tod	
John Gregory	

[1] The first bank in St. Andrews, was a branch of the Bank of Scotland. It was situated in West Burn Lane, and was opened in 1792, under the charge of Charles Dempster & Son.

BOOK III.

THE DEACON OF THE BAKER TRADES BOOK.

[The above is the title of the third volume—it is printed on the front (not the back) in gold letters on red or scarlet ground, and the following is on inside of cover:—]

53 S: F: D

University Library.

Presented by

William Woodcock, Writer, St Andrews

For the purpose of Safety

and Public Reference.

9th June 1885.

A Division of the Town Church having taken place, The following Seats were set apart for the use of the Baker Trade by Neil Ferguson, Esq^{r}., Commissioner appointed by the Lords of Council and Session for dividing said Church, viz^{t}.

	Ft.	In.
N° 173	5	–
174	6	3
175	7	–
176	6	1
177	5	–
181	4	6
182	5	6
183	6	7
184	5	6
185	5	5
	34[1]	8 or 37 Bottom rooms

Value of the above @ 20 years purchase, £84 ,, 1 ,, 8.

[12th September 1800.]

Nomina Concilii.

David Wallace	Conv^{r} Motion
Henry Berwick	D^{n} R. Walker
Deacon Niven	D^{n} Kirk

[11th September 1801.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon Wallace	Robert Duncan
Conv^{r} Motion	D^{n} R. Walker
Deacon Kirk	Deacon Niven

[10th September 1802.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon D. Wallace	Deacon Kirk
Robert Duncan	Deacon Niven
Deacon Rob^{t} Walker	Henry Berwick

[1] This should sum up to 56 ft. 10 in. Allowing 1 ft. 6½ in. for each sitting or 'bottomroom' we have almost exactly 37. 23 had first been written instead of 37.

St Andrews, 2d Aught, 1803.

The Same Day, the Deacon and Rest of the Members of the Trade being met, agrees and heareby Enacts, that where two or more Freemen of Trade Lives in One House & Buiseness, So long as they are not Seperated By Famileys & Busiiniss, &c. Shall not be entitled to aney more than one Ballot or Seat in the Church than the Other Seperate Members & the Whole Trade Subscribes the Above as followes

David Wallace, Dn	John Kirk
Robert Duncan, Boxm.	John Niven
Robt Walker	George Kirk
Henry Berwick	Alexr Niven
Willm Walker	Thomas Motion
	John Rodger

[9th September 1803.]

Deacon [John Niven] & Boxmaster [Robert Duncan], Dea. Walker, Deacon Wallace, Deacon Kirk, Henry Berwick.

[14th September 1804.]

Nomina Concilii.

John Niven	Dn Ro. Walker
George Kirk	Deacon Kirk
Deacon Wallace	Henry Berwick

St Andrs, 7 May, 1805.

Which day, the remanent members of the Baker Trade being mett & Conveened, Deacon Wallace and George Kirk, Boxmaster, informed the meeting That they had this day by authority & appointment of the members of Trade, Fewed the Flour miln from the City of St Andrews, at the yearly Feu duty of Fifty pounds Str for the first Eleven years & a half years after Whitsunday first, and Seventy five pounds Str yearly in all time thereafter, and that for behoof of the Corporation of Bakers. The meeting approve of the Conduct of Mr Wallace & Mr Kirk, and oblige themselves & their Successors to obtemper & fulfill any Engagements that they may

have come under by subscribing the offer, Articles of Roup, or otherways relative to the Feu of said Miln.

John Niven, Dⁿ
George Kirk, B.M.
David Wallace
John Kirk
Henry Berwick
Robert Duncan
Willᵐ Walker

[13th September 1805.]

Nomina concilii.

Deacon Niven	Deacon Kirk
George Kirk	Henry Berwick
Deacon R. Walker	Robᵗ Duncan

Sᵗ Andˢ, 4 Septʳ, 1805.

At a meeting of the Baker Trade they have Unanimously Agreed, and hereby Agree & Enact, that every widow of a ffreeman of the Trade shall be entitled to a Seat in the Church for her and family so long as she remains unmarried, and that if the Trade has not room for them in their own Seats The Trade shall furnish them a Seat in a proper place of the Church, on the widow paying for said Seat, for every Bottom room at the same rate that the members of Trade pay for their Seats.

[12th September 1806.]

Nomina Concilii.

John Kirk	Henry Berwick
George Kirk	Robert Duncan
John Niven	Alexander Wilson

[5th December 1806.]

Act Anent the Admission of Newtrals

Same day the Trade unanimously Enact and ordain that the Admission of Newtrals to the freedom of the Baker trade in time coming shall be Twenty five pounds Sterling, besides small due's; and they hereby disannull and rescind all former Acts to the contrary.

Charles Grace, Clk. Dept.

[11th September 1807.]

Nomina Concilii.

John Kirk	Robert Walker
Thomas Motion	William Walker
Deacon Niven	George Kirk

St Andrews, 14th Jany, 1808.

Which day, the Deacon and remanent members of Trade being met, they agree to Set for the term of twelve years from the term of Martinmas 1807, that acre of Land belonging to them, called the wett acre, to David Wann, Landlabourer in St Andws, for the rent of £4: 5 Strg; which rent they oblige to be paid at Whitsunday 1808 for the first year thereafter, and at that time twelve months for every year thereafter; [and] they accept of the offer of David Tulas, smith, St Andreus, for his cautioner, and the Trade allows him the priviledge of taking what Stones he may use for draining the said acre of Land, but for no other purpose. Before these witnesses, Petter Thomson & Stwart McKinzie, both Weavers in St Andrews.

David Wann
David Tullis

Petter Thomson, witnss
Steuart McKinsie, witnss

St Andrews, 9th June, 1808.

At a full Meeting of the Baker Trade this day it is finally agreed by the Trade To give the Present tenants of the Flour-miln a Tack or Lease of said Miln For the Space of Nineteen years from and since the Term of Whitsunday Last Vast, Eighteen hundred and eight years, Upon Condition of the Tacksmen taking the Whole Burden of Said Mill upon themselves during the above space, & that whatever more the said Mill shall be worth at the expiry of the above time the Tacksmen shall be entitled to no redress, but whatever Less the Mill be valued at than the Valuation when she[1] was fewed by the Trade the Tacksmen shall Pay cash for what she is Valued

[1] Mills, along with ships, still retain the feminine pronoun.

at less, so as to make up the valuation to the Trade. And Further, the Tacksmen Bind themselves to Give the other Baking Members a regular turn of Grinding with themselves,[1]

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[1] The order of grinding was a constant source of trouble to both bakers and millers. The Edinburgh Town Council Records contain many references to attempts to regulate the order and to prevent variance and discord. On 12th July 1510 the following minute occurs: 'The quhilk day in presens of the provest baillies and counsale it is appoyntit and agreit betuix the fermoureris of thair commoun mylnis now present, viz:—Alexander Gray, Richart Patersoun, Thomas Ramsay and William Moreis, and the laif of the maisteris of the baxteris craft within this burgh, for ceissing of variance and discord amangs thame in tyme cumming anent the conservation and keping of thair rowmis in the grinding of thair gristis of quheit at thair commoun mylnis in tyme heirafter in this wyis, viz: That euery nychtbour of the said baxter craft in tyme of scant of watter sall grynd at anes bot viij ladis of quheitt, and to brek for mayne xvj laid, and quhat persoun of the said craft that attempis till do in the contrair heirof sall pay XLs to the Kirkwark als oft as it happinis vnforgevin and quhen the watter is lairge.' On 28th July 1514 the matter was again under consideration, and the rule was laid down that each neighbour after the other should be served, and if anyone failed to claim his place it was to be occupied by the next in order; breakers of the order were to be fined twenty shillings, fifteen of which went to the Kirk work and five to the altar of the craft. An interesting minute appears on 9th January 1522-3: 'The quhilk day, the provest counsall and dekyns of craftis decernis and ordanis and als statutis and ordanis, for sessing of varience and discorde amangis the fermoraris of thair commoun myllis and the baxteris of this burgh, and for keiping of gude reull amangis thame, that in tyme tocum the mylleris till haue the haill gyding and reull of the mylnis, and that na baxter temper nor haue ado with the mylnis in tyme tocum aganis the myllaris willis; and gif it happinis the myllaris ony way to spill ony stuf that thai grynde of the saidis baxteris, in thair defalt, the stuf being sufficient, the fermoraris to pay the samyn to the baxteris that beis hourt, and gif the stuf be noct sufficient, that the myllaris of the commoun myllis refus it and suffer nocht the samyn to be put in the hopper to grynd, and als that all the myllaris of the commoun mylnis be sworne vpoun the halie Evangelistis for gryning of the saidis baxteris gristis lilelye and treulie, nocht allanerlie for the proffeit of the saidis fermoraris but als weill for the proffeit of the saidis baxteris, and attour it is ordanit deuisit and statute be the baillies counsall and dekynis of craftis that thair be ane day lymit in the oulk to the fermoraris, viz. Setterday, to grynd malt in the new mylne alanerlie, nochtwithstanding that thair be quheit reddye to grynde in the samyn, and efter that the said malt be ground in the said mylne that the saidis fermoraris caus to mak and graith the said mylne sufficientlie at all pointis, swa that the quheit that beis ground efter the said malt be na way spilt thairthrow, and gif thair happinis ony skaith tocum to the said quheit that beis ground efter the malt as said is, the fermoraris till refound and pay the skaith thairof to the awneris of the saidis quheit, and this to be obseruit and keipit in all tymes tocum.' The order of milling was again brought before the Council on 21st March 1522-3, by the bakers who 'producit thir statutis vnder writtin and desyrit the baillies

Provided they Keep by the Mill, the turns to be in Proportion to their Bussiness,[1] and the Price to be at the Country rate. Valuation of the s^d^ Flour Mill as under: Rob^t^ Coldstream & Rob^t^ Thomson having Examined the Mason work, Slates, Tiles, &^c^., find the same to amount to One hundred & forty five Pounds, two Shillings, Sterling. David Bonthrone and Henry Gibson having visited and Inspected the Flour mill & apparatus belonging thereto, find the same to Amount to in all One hundred and Seventy five Pounds, Four Shillings, Sterling. David Kirk & Charles Wemyss having Examined the Irons Boarding & bearers of the Dam, find the same to amount to Four Pounds, One Shilling, & Six Pence, St^rg^. David Bonthrone Gives evidence also that the length of the axletree is fifteen feet and a half & 23 inches thick, the runner[2] 5 inches thick, the bead 5 inches with burr Stones,[3]

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and counsall till interpone thair authorits to the samyn, quhilkis efter followis: The haill bodye of the craft of baxterie hes statute and ordanit anent the keiping of thair rowmes in the commoun mylnis and to keip thame self furth of troubill in tyme tocum, that quhair ony maister of the said craft hes quheit in diuers mylnis, the first mylne that he gryndis on he sall pas and tak furth the laif of his quheit, quhat mylne that euir it be in, and grynd all togidder vpoun that mylne, and gif he takis it nocht furth, it sall kep na rowme and nocht to be ground quhill his nixt rowme cum about; and this thai ar all to do content for the keiping of thame self fra trouble and for guid concord till be had amangis thame; and alswa thai haif statutt and ordanit that na maister of the said craft that beis gryndand vpoun the mylnis sall grynd till ony vther persoun mair than ane batche, and that to quhat persoun he plessis, and nocht ellis bot gif he lyke himself, and gif he gryndis ony mair till ony persoun than ane batche he sall tyne his rowme at that tyme without ony fauouris; and alswa thai haue statutt and ordanit that quhair ony maister takis multer quheit he sall grynd the said multer quheit becaus it is rowme fre, and als mekill mair till it; and this thai ar all content till do for the weill of thair craift swa that thai mister nocht till plenye daylie befoir the guid toun. The quhilkis statutis the baillies and counsall thinkis consonant to resoun, and thairfore ratefeis and approvis the samyn in all poyntis, and ordanis the samyn to be obseruit and keipit amangis the maisteris of said craft in all tymes to cum.'

[1] The precedence by the extent of the business appears to have been a different rule to that in vogue in the earlier centuries at Edinburgh, where each appears to have taken his turn independent of the quantity to be ground.

[2] The runner was the moving stone of the mill.

[3] Although burr is the general form for the well-known and prized millstones, the proper term is buhr. It is a silicious stone. In the *Adwise ana Memorandum* of Francis Masterton to those who succeeded him in Parkmilne, he says, 'having always millstons lying besyd th^m^ a year or they be needed,

Shilling miln[1] Stones, bead & runner, 5 inches. In testimony whereof we have Subscribed these Presents, date & place before mentioned, before & in Presence of James Edie & John Buddo in St Andws.

× George Kirk	John Kirk, Den
× Robt. Swinton	Thomas Motion, Box M.
× David Wallace	× John Niven
× Willm Walker	× Robt Walker
× Rot Duncan	× Alexr Walker
× James Edie, Witness	× Henry Berwick
× John Buddo, Witness	× James Motion

[9th September 1808.]

Nomina Concillii.

John Kirk	Thomas Motion
John Niven	Robt Duncan
Henry Berwick	Geo: Kirk

St Andrews, 14th October, 1808.

WHICH DAY, the Deacon and Remanent Members of Trade being met and convened, The Deacon produced to the Trade a Letter of the following tenor, "St Andrews, 28th "Septr, 1808. We, William and Thomas Fernie, hereby "Make offer to the Baker Trade for liberty to Quarry Stones "from the Rock at the foot of their Land which is presently "posses't by David Wann, and for which Quarry we Bind "ourselves to pay to the Baker Trade the Sum of Five pounds "Sterling each year, Commencing at Martinmas next, the "said Rent we agree to give yearly at the Election, and thus "for six years, and after the said Six years if the Quarry "turns out for our Advantage we Pay Six pounds the Seventh

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also wheels, axtrees, and other necessars provyd thm always in tyme. . . . In ye summer cause always ye damheads, milnleads, brigs, and ways to ye miln be mended, for if neglected a year they will ruine, and ten tyme ye price will not mend thm.' A witness in the case of the Bakers of Canongate against Mrs. McDowal or Little Gilmour in 1811, in comparing the expenses of milling at that date with those of 1748, stated that sixty pounds had to be paid for burstones in place of twenty pounds.

[1] Mill at which the husk was removed or 'shelled' from the grain.

"year, and One pound above that next year, and One more "next, and so on of raise till the last year of David Wann's "Tack, only we have a Ruance[1] at the end of the Sixth year, "but it is left in our Option to give up or give the raise of "Rent as is most convenient for us, and we leave the Land in "a labourable condition, And further we bind ourselves to "relieve the Trade of any Claim whatever from the said "David Wann. (Signed) William Ferney, Thomas Fernie, "David Wann." Which being Considered by the Trade, they accept of the offer contained in the above Letter, and do hereby, with consent of the said David Wann, their Tenant, and in terms of said offer, Lett to the said William & Thomas Ferneys, Masons in S^t^ Andrews, the above mentioned Quarry, and that during the Currency of the said David Wann's Lease, which was to endure for Twelve years from and after the term of Martinmas last; the said William and Thomas Ferney paying yearly to the Baker Trade at the annual Election, the Sum of Five pounds Sterling for the first Six years of their lease, Six pounds Sterling the Seventh year, and seven pounds Sterling the Eight year, & so on, Paying one pound Sterling of addition each succeeding Year of the Lease, beginning the first payment of said Rent at the first Election and so on thereafter; but reserving power to the said William & Thomas Fernies to give up or retain the said Quarry at the end of the Sixth year as they shall find most convenient. And the said William & Thomas Fernie shall be obliged in terms of the above offer to ffree and Relieve the Trade of all Claims which the said David Wann may have for Surface damages, &c.; And also to leave the Land around the said Quarry in a sufficient labourable Condition upon their giving up the said Quarry. In witness whereof these Presents are Subscribed by the said Parties, place and date foresaid, Before these witnesses, Charles Grace, Clerk to Stuart Grace, Town Clerk of S^t^ Andrews, & James Deas, Town Officer there.

John Kirk, Den

[1] A break in the lease or an opportunity of withdrawing.

Charles Grace, Witness
James Deas, Witness

Thomas Motion, B.M.
William Ferny
Thomas Fernie

St Andrews, 7th September, 1809.

WHICH DAY, the Deacon and Remanent Members of Trade being met and convened, and Considering That Robert Swinton, a Member of Trade, has left this City and gone to London to Reside, and that upon his Admission to the ffreedom of this Trade he granted Bill to the Trade, along with Thomas Robertson, Present Deacon of the Fleshers, as his Cautioner for the Sum of Twenty three pounds, two Shillings, Sterling, as the fees of his Admission, including one years Interest thereof, Eleven pounds Sterling whereof was paid conform to Receipt on the back of said Bill, And that the sum of thirteen pounds, fourteen Shillings, including the Interest of said Principal sum to this date, is still resting and owing to the Trade by the said Robert Swinton and his Cautioner. And as Mrs Jean Robertson, alias Swinton, Spouse of the said Robert Swinton, residing in St Andrews, has agreed to Renounce and Give up for herself all Right, liberty, and Privilege, which she can or might claim as the wife of a ffreeman Baker of this Trade, upon the terms & conditions after expressed, Vizt, That we, the Members of Trade, shall allow to remain dormant the said Sum of Thirteen pounds, fourteen shillings, which shall carry no Interest from and after the date hereof, without doing Diligence against the moveable effects, &c., of her said husband which she presently possesses, & without prejudice, however, to the Heirs & Successors of the said Robert Swinton to enter upon their said fathers Right as a ffreeman Baker at any time they shall think fitt & proper. They in such case being bound and Obliged to pay to said Trade the said Sum of Thirteen pounds, ffourteen Shillings, sterling, being the balance of the ffees of the said Robert Swintons Admission & Interest thereof to this date still resting & unpaid, & the usual & ordinary fees payable by the Sons of ffreemen upon their Admission. And

the said Jean Robertson, alias Swinton, shall not be entitled to protect any Unfreeman in the exercise of this Craft, or to sit or claim Right to a Seat or pew in the Town Church belonging to this Incorporation, which she also hereby Renounces during the existence of the said debt. And if the said Jean Robertson shall at any time incline to Reassume her Priviledges belonging to her as the wife of the said Robert Swinton, & which she hereby renounces, she shall be entitled so to do upon paying up to the said Trade the said Sum of Thirteen pounds, fourteen shillings, Stg. And it is further hereby declared that if the said Jean Robertson shall after this Renounciation by her & without paying the said debt encroach upon the freedom & liberties of the Trade in any Degree, that then, & in that case only, shall the Trade be at liberty to do diligence against the said Thomas Robertson, Cautioner foresaid, & that only for the said Sum of Thirteen pounds, fourteen Shillings, Sterling, & no more (Excepting any expences thereby Incurred). In Testimony whereof These Presents are subscribed by the said Jean Robertson & by the said Deacon & Boxmaster for the Remanent Members of Trade, Before these witnesses, George Hutton, Present Baillie, S^{t} Andrews & the said Charles Grace.

× Jean Robertson

Geo: Hutton, Witness × Tho^{s} Motion × Tho: Robertson

Charles Grace, Witness × Box Master × John Kirk, Den

[8th September 1809.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon Berwick	John Niven
Tho^{s} Motion	Robert Duncan
John Kirk	George Kirk

S^{t} Andrews, 5th October, 1809.

WHICH DAY, the Deacon & remanent Members of Trade being met and convened, and Considering that the Kiln of the Flour Miln[1] was lately accidently burnt down, & that the Tenants of said Miln are desirous of rebuilding &

[1] The kilns were used for drying the wheat. Bakers' meetings were sometimes held in the kilns at their mills.

repairing the same upon a larger & more convenient Plan, Therefore the Trade do hereby allow the Milnmasters Tacksmen of said Miln & Kiln to repair & rebuild the said Kiln in such a manner as shall to them appear best adapted & most convenient for the Purposes intended, & if at the expiry of the Lease of said Miln, the Valuation of the said Kiln shall exceed the sum of Twenty pounds Sterling, being the former valuation thereof, the Trade shall be accountable to the Tenants for such surplus, & if the said Valuation shall not amount to the said sum of Twenty pounds the Milnmasters shall make good that sum to the Trade.

S^{t} Andrews, 11 January, 1810.

WHICH DAY, the Deacon & remanent members of Trade being mett and Convened, & Considering that by a Minute entered in their book of date the Ninth day June Eighteen hundred and eight, They Let to the Miln masters the Flour Miln of S^{t} Andrews for the Space of Nineteen years from the term of Whitsunday, Eighteen hundred and eight, And that it was therein Stipulated that altho' at the Expiraion of said Lease the valuation of said Miln should amount to more than the Sum of THREE hundred and twenty four pounds, Seven shillings, and Six pence sterling, being the valuation of said miln when she was fewed from the Town of S^{t} Andrews, that the Tacksmen should be entitled to no redress, but that if the valuation should not amount to the above Sum the Tacksmen were taken bound to make up the difference. And also Considering that said Miln at present stands on need of great repair and that the Tacksmen are not inclined to lay out money upon her on account of the said clause in said Minute of Tack, THEY THEREFORE hereby Declare that if the valuation of said miln at the Expiry of the Lease shall exceed the foresaid Sum of THREE hundred & twenty four pounds, Seven shillings, and Sixpence, that the Trade shall be accountable for the Surplus, and if the said valuation shall not amount to said Sum the Miln Masters shall be Obliged to make up the difference of valuation.

S^{t} Andrews [blank.]

WHICH DAY, the Deacon and remanent members of of Trade being mett and convened, they unanimously resolved that from and after the date hereof all persons becoming Trades apprentices must be bound for the space of four years, and that the space of Three years must elapse after they have Served their apprenticeship before they can set up for themselves. Enact anent apprentices

Same day, Considering That Thomas Motion, who was chosen Boxmaster at last election, has declined accepting of the same, and the Trade being in need of some fit person to manage their bussiness, unanimously make choice of John Rodger, a member of Trade, to be their factor untill next Election. John Rodger to be factor

[14th September 1810.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon & Boxmaster	Deacon John Niven
Convener Kirk	Deacon David Wallace
	Robert Duncan

S^{t} Andrews, 6th September, 1811.

WHICH DAY, the Deacon and Remanent Members of Trade being met and convened, the Deacon stated to the Trade that William & Thomas Fernies, Masons in this City, Present Tacksmen of the Quarry in the Acre of Land presently possesed by David Wann, Landlabourer, had made application to him to be relieved from their Lease of said Quarry and of the Rent payable therefor, in consequence of the Rock having completely failed, & there being now no prospect of Stones below the Acre belonging to the Trade. Which being considered by the Trade, they are unanimously of opinion that the application of the said William and Thomas Fernies to be relieved of their Obligation in consequence of the failure of said Quarry is reasonable and that they ought to be relieved from the said Lease and from payment of the rent offered by them therefor, from & after the last Election, they being nevertheless bound and obliged in terms of their

Obligation, of date the fourteenth day of October, Eighteen hundred and Eight, to free and relieve the Trade from all claims for surface damages which the said David Wann, Tacksman of said Acre, may have till the expiration of his Lease, and also being bound not to injure said Acre of Land by any Quarry which they may have in the Adjoining Acre, And under the above Obligations the Trade do hereby relieve them of the said Lease.

[13th September 1811.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon Berwick	Robert Duncan
John Rodger	Deacon Niven
Convener Kirk	Deacon Wallace

S^{t} Andrews, 29 May, 1812.

Act setting aside William Hutton

WHICH DAY, the Deacon and Remanent Members of Trade being met and convened, and considering that William Hutton, a Member of Trade, did, at a public Meeting of the Trade, in the most riotous & disorderly manner, insult & attack the Deacon when presiding at that meeting, & gave him and several other Members of Trade a great deal of very insulting & abusive Language, and tore in pieces, in presence of the Trade, an Obligation which he had previously granted to the Trade relative to the letting of his Bake house in Argyle,[1] And as the Trade are of opinion that his conduct has been extremely improper, outrageous, & insolent, therefore they did, & hereby do, Fine and Amerciate the said William Hutton in the sum of FIVE POUNDS Sterling, and until he make payment of said Fine, remove and set him aside and deprive him of any vote or seat in Trade.

S^{t} Andrews, [blank] July, 1812.

Act reponing William Hutton

WHICH DAY, the Deacon and remainent members of trade being Met & convened, there was laid before them a Petition from William Hutton, a member of trade, in which he expresses himself extremely sorry for his improper Conduct

[1] A district of St. Andrews west of South Street.

at last meeting & for then using insulting language to the Deacon when presiding, and submitting himself to the mercy and clemency of the trade. Which being considered by the meeting, they, in respect of said acknowledgement, unanimously REPONE and READMIT the said William Hutton to the haill freedom And priviledges as a member of this trade, upon his making payment thereto of the sum of One pound, One shilling, Sterling, in name of fine, And the meeting do hereby revoke and rescind the former Act, of date the Twenty Ninth day of May last, setting him aside.

[11th September 1812.]

Nomina Concilii.

David Wallace	Henry Berwick
John Rodger	John Niven
John Kirk	Robt Duncan

St Andrews, 17th Decr, 1812.

WHICH DAY, the Deacon and remanent members of Trade being met and convened, And having taken into their consideration the great encrochment made upon the libertys of the Trade by several persons exercising the Trade of pastry Cook, baking tea bread, biscuit, &c, they hereby unanimously empower the Deacon & Boxmaster to prosecute such persons Who has made and are still in the practice of making such encroachment, And ordain the expences incurred in any proces that may be raised to the above effect, to be paid from the funds of the Trade.[1]

[10th September 1813.]

Nomina Concilii.

David Wallace	Convener Kirk
John Fortune	Deacon Berwick[2]
John Niven	Deacon Berwick

[1] This entry shows that the confectionery side of the trade had been of gradual but uninterrupted growth. The enriching of the bread dough with butter, milk, and sugar, naturally led to the developement of the fancy or pastry side. At no time was there the complete separation in Scotland between the branches of the trade that existed, and still exists, in France between the boulanger and the patissier and in Germany between the backer and the conditor.

[2] 'Deacon Berwick' repeated.

[9th September 1814.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon Wallace	Boxmaster [John Fortune]
Convener Kirk	Deacon Walker
Deacon Niven	Deacon Berwick

[8th September 1815.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [William Hutton]	George Kirk
Boxmaster [John Fortune]	John Trail
Dⁿ Walker	Deacon Wallace

Stᵗ Andrews, 1ˢᵗ March, 1816.

Act anent the Binding of Apprentices to the Trade

WHICH DAY, the Deacon and Remanent Members of Trade being met & convened, it was unanimously RESOLVED and ENACTED, that in time Coming, upon the binding of Apprentices to the Trade, the Deacon, Boxmaster, and Master whom the Apprentice is to serve, should only be present, & that no Part of the fees exigible by the Trade from the Apprentice should be Appropriated to the Purpose of an entertainment as hitherto,[1] but that the same shall be Credited

[1] Many attempts had been made to restrict too lavish expenditure in connection with the social functions of the trade. It appears to have reached its strictest point when the only persons permitted to partake were the parties interested and the two officials. Most of these prohibitions were directed against prodigality or undue expense at the entry of freemen, but in 1578 the Dundee trade had decided that on the enrolling of apprentices ten pounds should be paid to the Deacon for entry money, and that no dinner should be given as had been the custom. They also abolished banquets at the upsetting of booths. An entry in the Maltmens' Book shows that it was customary for new apprentices to 'brother' their fellows:—'22ᵈ Dec. 1739. The Maltmen met in the new Church, by authority of the Dean of Guild, and considering that the practice of brothering or head washing new entrant apprentices or servants is contrary to the Municipal Laws of the burgh, and is often the cause of abuses and immoralities, besides being a heavy charge upon said parties, Therefore they discharged the practice for the future, and ordained that no free master shall allow any meeting of Maltmen lads, for this purpose, to be in any of their houses, nor afford them meat or drink, nor be present thereat or give countenance thereto, under the penalty of £12 Scots, to be paid to the Boxmr, toties quoties. But if any such entrant pleases to give a moderate refreshment to the other lads in the same malthouse, he may do so, providing there be not more than six persons present, nor more than one pint of ordinary twopenny ale given to each person present, and no other liquor whatever to be used. As this will be a considerable ease to the entrant, to pay 20s Scots of additional dues. Also, as the Fraternity wish to save all they can to the poor, no free

by the Boxmaster to the Trade and the expence of any entertainment on such occasions shall be paid by the Master & Apprentice exclusively, but such shall be restricted to the number above specified.

[13th September 1816.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon Hutton	Dⁿ H. Berwick
Alexʳ Aikman, Boxʳ	Ro. Duncan
John Rodger	Alexander Kirk

[12th September 1817.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon Hutton	John Rodger
Alexʳ Aikman	John Fortune
Robᵗ Duncan	Geo. Kirk

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master on entering shall be obliged to give any entertainment to the other free masters, but shall instead pay 40s Scots to the Boxmʳ, for the use of their poor.' Just as the St. Andrews bakers decided that no part of the fees should be spent in an entertainment, the Dundee bakers long before, in 1576, had ordained that 'ye Dekin prestᵗ or to cum sall not tak vpoun hand to co-sume or speind ony silver in ony tavernis, ather vpoun aill or for wyne, pertenyyng to ye comone gude of ye said Craft had yʳto.' In 1671 the Aberdeen trade had attempted to deal with the abuse of feasts and banquets of entrants, and agreed that they should be abolished for all time, and the money given to the poor of the trade; but the act soon fell into disuse, for in 1717 another measure was adopted, but this time it was only against 'extraordinary drinking'—an expression that in Aberdeen might have been capable of a very wide interpretation, but the remedy was definite and drastic: 'The traid taking to serious consideration the great abuses that hath been committed many years bygane by extraordinary drinking on entrants, for the remeede of which in tyme cuming doe hereby statute and ordain that no say maister chosen by the said traid shall have liberty to drink upon any entrant in any tyme thereafter under the penalty of ten marks Scots money.' On 10th April 1741 the Glasgow bakers prohibited drinks or treats at the entrance of freemen. So extravagant and expensive, especially in periods of distress, had the entrance feasts (Meister Mahlen, Suppen, trinken) become in Munich that general rules were passed against them on 10th November 1595, and the prohibition was copied into the books of all the trades, in the same way as the orders of the Conveners' Court in St. Andrews were copied into the books of the different crafts. In Ingolstadt, too, when the Guild fell on evil days, the entrance feast was abandoned, and the officials were paid a sum of money for their supervision, and another was diverted into the common box. The value of two pounds of wax, which was given as drink money on the binding of an apprentice, was halved, and one half given to the trade funds.

St Andrews, 13 Decem., 1817.

Which day, the Deacon & remanent members of Trade being met and convened; He represented to them that John Kirk, John Niven, and David Wallace, three of the joint Tents of the Flour Mill, had Signified a wish to be freed & relieved of any responsibility as Tenants, upon each getting a certain sum of money; The Trade, therefore, having considered the above proposition, hereby free and relieve the before mentioned persons as Tenants of all responsibility so far as they are individually bound, and, upon the other hand, the said John Kirk, John Niven, & David Wallace renounce their right to the same, or any profit or emolument arising therefrom, from & after this date. The Trade likewise having considered an offer made by John Rodger, Alex Kirk, John Fortune, Alex Aikman, & Robert Wallace, to become Joint Tacksmen, along with Robert Duncan & Henry Berwick, do hereby accept & receive of them as such, upon condition of their becoming bound in terms of the former minutes.

St Andrews, 14th April, 1818.

WHICH DAY, the Deacon, Box Master, and Remanent Members of the Baker Trade, being met and convened, the Deacon stated that he had had a conversation with David Wann, Landlabourer in St Andrews, present Tacksman of the Acre of Land called the Wett Acre, belonging to the Trade, Respecting filling up the Quarry lately made by William & Thomas Fernie, Masons, in the said Land, that David Wann had agreed to fill it up at his sole expence without delay, Provided the Trade would agree to Let to him the said Acre of Land for Nine Years after the expiration of his Present Lease. The Trade, having considered the statement of the Deacon and proposal of David Wann, hereby Agree to Let, And do hereby Set to him, the said David Wann, the said Acre of Land called the Wett Acre, and that for the space of Nine Years, full and complete from and after the term of Martinmas, Eighteen hundred and Nineteen, being the expiration of his Current Lease thereof; he, the said

David Wann & his heirs, Executors, & Successors, being bound not only to fill up said Quarry at their sole expence, but to pay to the said Baker Trade or their Boxmaster for their behoof at the Election yearly during the Remaining period of the existing Lease, and yearly during the said Renewal, the Sum of FOUR pounds, five Shillings, Sterling. IN testimony of which these presents are Subscribed by the Deacon, Boxmaster, & Clerk, in Name of the Trade and by the said David Wann.

Extract Minute of the Town Council of S^{t} Andrews, granting the Use of the New Town Hall[1] to the Baker Trade for their Meeting.

AT S^{T} ANDREWS, the Twelth day of March, One thousand Eight hundred and Eighteen Years, SEDERUNT in Council, Robert Meldrum, Esquire, PROVOST, Cathcart Dempster, Dean of Guild, David Leitch, Alexander Clark and George Mitchell, Bailies, Alexander Thomson, John Kirk, Alexander Meldrum, James Pringle, Henry Henderson, John Brodie, James Hutton, and James Smith, Guild Councillors, John Wallace, Convener of the Trades, James Kirk, Deacon

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[1] The New Town Hall did not long serve the purposes for which it was intended. It stood in Market Street, in the middle of the street, and was looked upon as a deformity. When Provost Playfair was elected to office he issued an appeal for funds to build a new hall in the following unique terms: 'Notice Universal. It is hereby intimated to all those who have or may have any funds at their disposal, and who are hesitating to what purpose they will apply them during life or at their demise, that the ancient city of St. Andrews is a field where a bequest might be made for a purpose which would perpetuate the name of the donor to future ages—namely, to furnish the means, either by deed or gift, for removing the present Town Hall from the centre of the street (where it is a great obstruction and deformity), and to build another which should contain a market place, assembly rooms, and other conveniences, thus securing to the donor the gratitude and blessings of generations to come. Any person feeling inclined to promote this great public work will receive every information on the subject on application to Major Playfair, the provost of the city.' However much the Trades and Societies appreciated the privilege of meeting in it in 1818, the citizens of the next generation set scant value upon the building. Fletcher does not think it worth while noticing, except to remark that it contained a slip of parchment, little more than three inches long and one and a half broad, an original charter of Malcolm II. It was demolished in 1862.

of the Wrights, William Hutton, Deacon of the Bakers, Alexander Mitchell, Deacon of the Shoemakers, David Rodger, Deacon of the Taylors, and James Smith, Deacon of the Weavers, Trades Councillors. Which day, the Dean of Guild Reported that the Deacon of the Incorporation of Bakers of this City had, in Name of the said Incorporation, paid in to the Town's factor for behoof of the Town the sum of Ten pounds Sterling for the priviledge to that Incorporation of holding all their public Meetings in the Town Hall, which Sum the Council Accept of, And hereby Grant to the said Incorporation of Bakers (under the exception above expressed in the Grant to the Friendly Society), the priviledge of holding the Meetings of said Incorporation in said Town Hall in all time coming. SIGNED in Name, Presence, and by Appointment of the Council, By (Signed) Robt Meldrum P. EXTRACTED forth of the Council Record of the said City of St Andrews upon this and the Preceding page of Stamped paper. By (Signed) Charles Grace, Clk.

EXCERPT from Minute of Council granting the use of the Town Hall to the Friendly Society so far as Regards the exception above alluded to:—

"The Council having considered the said Petition, they "Grant the desire thereof, and Grant to the said Friendly "Society the priviledge of holding their public Meetings in the "Town Hall of this City in all time coming, Excepting on "such occasions as the same may be necessarily Required by "the Council and such public Bodies or Incorporations as "have already Acquired a (a) Similar Priviledge."

[11th September 1818.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [John Fortune]	Robert Duncan
Boxmaster [Alexander Aikman]	Deacon Wm Hutton
Dn Berwick	John Rodger

St Andrews, 2 October, 1818.

WHICH DAY, the Deacon & remanent Members of the

THE CONVENER'S BADGE.

Baker Trade being met & convened, Deacon John Fortune Stated to the Meeting that at a Meeting of the Convener's Court held yesterday, the Committee presented to the Meeting a Gold Chain & medal which they had procured for the Convener in terms of an Appointment of the Court, dated the Twelfth September, Eighteen hundred and Sixteen. That several Subscriptions had already been obtained towards defraying the Expences of the Medal from private Individuals and out of the Seven Trades' funds, but these were found to be insufficient for that purpose. The Convener therefore recommended to the Deacons of the Incorporations the necessity of getting some aid from them out of their respective funds or by Subscription among the Members individually, and requested them to Call Meetings of their Incorporations And endeavour to get that aid accordingly. The Meeting having considered this request, and having severally inspected the Gold chain and Medal, they unanimously Subscribed and do hereby Subscribe Two Guineas from the funds of this Incorporation towards payment of the same, And Authorise the Boxmaster to pay the same into the hands of the Committee above mentioned Whenever they Shall think proper to demand it.[1] . . .

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[1] The Badge is preserved and exhibited in the Town Hall. It bears the emblems of the Seven Trades that subscribed for its presentation. It narrowly escaped loss at Queen Victoria's Jubilee Celebration in Westminster Abbey. The Provost did not then have the right of wearing the badge of office which he now enjoys, through the generosity of the late Marquis of Bute, and he utilised the Convener's Badge. On emerging from the Abbey he discovered that the medal had fallen out of its setting, but fortunately it had slipped into his pocket. It is a curious coincidence that the Dundee Trades were also presenting a chain to the Dean of Guild at the same time as the Trades of St Andrews were presenting theirs to their Convener. On 30th September 1818, the Guildry decided to procure an official chain within four days for the Dean to wear when he took his seat in the Town Council. It measured twenty-one feet, and cost about £65. The Dundee Convener of Trades had enjoyed the use of one since 1776. It was presented by a number of the Trades in sums that varied in amount, and the Convener himself contributed a fair proportion. The Baking Trade did not subscribe anything to its purchase. It cost £27 13s, made up as follows:—The chain, weighing 3 oz. 1 dwt. 15 grs., £11 18s; making, £5 5s; enamelling, engraving, and painting the medal in gold, £10 10s.

At S$_t$ Andrews, the Twenty Third day of December, Eighteen hundred and Eighteen years. In a Meeting of the Baker Trade at which the following Subscribers were present.

WHICH DAY, Deacon Fortune stated to the Meeting that he had called them together for the purpose of considering on the Trades right to stop Carts from going on the foot Road leading thro the Mill Lands, close by the Miller's House, to that Park presently possessed by M^{rs} Leuchars, flesher, of which the University are the principal Tacksmen; Which being considered by the Meeting, they unanimously considered that they have an unquestionable right to stop Carts; And Agreed and hereby Agree to Support their right to the said Road at Law And defend their right against the University, And whatever Expences may be incurred they Unanimously agreed to pay the same from the Funds of the Trade.

FEW CONTRACT of the Abbey or Flour Miln betwixt the Magistrates and Town Council of S^t Andrews and the Deacon, Boxmaster, and Incorporation of Bakers, S^t Andrews, dated the Nineteenth, & Recorded in the Burgh Court Books of S^t Andrews, the Twentieth, November, One thousand, Eight hundred, and five.

Feu Contract of the Abbey Miln betwixt The Town of S^t Andrews and The Baker Trade

It is Contracted, finally Ended, and Agreed upon betwixt the parties following, to witt, the Right Honourable the Earl of Kellie, provost of the city of S^t Andrews, Robert Key, Dean of Guild, Robert Meldrum, Esqr., George Hutton, John Brown, and James Toddie, Baillies of the said City, Alexander Kirk, Treasurer thereof, and And^w Walker, Conveener of the Trades of the said City, all present Members of the Town Council of S^t Andrews, or any four of them for themselves, and in name of and as having Commission from the remanent members of the said Town Council, conform to Act of Council dated the eleventh day of October last, on the one part, and John Niven, present Deacon of the Bakers, George Kirk, present Boxmaster, John Kirk, Henry Berwick, Robert Dun-

can, Robert and William Walkers, David Wallace, James and Thomas Motions, & Alexander Wilson, for themselves and in name of the remanent members of the said Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews, on the other part, In manner following, That is to say, the said Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council Have Sold, alienated, and Disponed and in few farm and Heritage perpetually, Demitted as by these presents for the yearly few duties and other prestations after mentioned, They, for them and their successors in office, Sell, alienate, and Dispone, and in few farm and heritage perpetually, Demitt, To and in favors of the said John Niven and the other members of the said Incorporation of Bakers and their successors in office, Heritably and Irredeemably, All and Haill That miln commonly called the Abbey mill, lying within the monastry of St Andrews,[1] now called the Flour mill, with the Kiln, miln lands, and Steading thereof, and Mill lead and Dam, as presently possessed by the said Incorporation of Bakers, Together with all right, Title, interest, claim of right, property, and possession, As well petitor as possessor, and the said Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council, Bind and oblige them and their said successors in office duely and lawfully to Infeft and sease the said John Niven, present Deacon, and George Kirk, present Boxmaster, and the other members of the Incorporation of Bakers and their successors in office, In the said Abbey mill, now called the Flour Mill, Kiln, and Miln land, lead,[2] and Dam foresaid, upon their own expences, To be Holden of them, the said Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of S^{t} Andrews and their foresaids, in few farm fee and Heritage for ever, For yearly and quarterly payment of the Feu dutys and others respectively after

[1] In William's & Duff's Map of St. Andrews (1802) there are two mills marked; one on the Shore Road and the other at the Quay. The ground to the south was known as the Abbey Grounds. In 1832 the trade gave permission to the Trustees of Madras College to cut a drain, to pass from the grounds of the College through the ground below the Mill Lead, and from thence down to the Nether Burn. St. Andrews possessed a monastery from the dark days of the Culdees, and the history of the later Monastery and Abbey is practically that of the Cathedral and the City.

[2] The mill-race, or channel of the water that turned the mill.

mentioned. And the said Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of S^{t} Andrews hereby make and Constitute the said John Niven and George Kirk and the other members of the Incorporation of Bakers and their foresaids their Cessioners and assignees in and to the mails, rents, and duties of said Miln, Kiln, and Miln Lands and others above disponed, with power to them and their foresaids to ask, Crave, and receive the said maills[1] and duties, and if need be, to charge and pursue therefor as accords of the Law, Which assignation to the said Maills and duties the said Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council oblige them and their forsaids to warrand from fact and Deed, As also they hereby further make and Constitute the said John Niven and George Kirk and the other members of the Incorporation of Bakers and their foresaids their Cessioners and assignees in and to the whole writs and evidents of and concerning the said Miln, Kiln, and Mill Lands, and others, which they oblige them to make furthcoming, when necessary and required, upon receipts and obligements for redelivery. Which Few Contract and assignation to the writes above written the said Magistrates and Town Council Bind and oblige them and their successors in office to warrand to all hands and against all deadly as Law will, And to free and relieve the said John Niven and George Kirk and the other members of the said Incorporation and their foresaids of all public burdens due and payable out of the said Miln, Kiln, and Miln lands, at and preceeding their entry, they paying the same together with the Few duty after mentioned in all time thereafter. For the which Causes and on the other part, the saids John Niven, present Deacon, George Kirk, present Boxmaster, and other members of the said Incorporation before mentioned, for themselves and in the name of the remanent members of said Incorporation of Bakers, Bind and oblige them and their successors in office, thankfully to Con-

[1] Rent when paid in money. Those who paid it were called 'maillories,' and, when it was paid in kind, they were called 'fermories.' The words 'maills and duties' mean the rents of an estate whether in money or grain.

tent and pay to the said Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council and their successors in office, or their factor for the time being, for their use and benefit the sum of Fifty pounds, Sterling money, yearly, for and in name of few duty, for the first Eleven and one half years hereof, and the sum of Seventy five pounds, Sterling money, for and in name of few duty for all time coming thereafter, and Doubling said few duty of Seventy five pounds Sterling the first year after the expiry of every forty years and that in name of entry money, And which yearly few duty is hereby declared payable at four terms in the year, Lambass, Martinmas, Candlemas, and Whitsunday, by equal portions, beginning the first quarter's payment of the said Few duty at the term of Lambass last past, in this present year, One thousand eight hundred and five, And so furth quarterly, as said is, at the above mentioned terms for ever, and for the more sure and effectual payment of the said yearly few duty quarterly as aforesaid, The said John Niven and George Kirk and the other members of said Incorporation hereby make and Constitute the said Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council, and their foresaids, their Cessioners and assignees, in and to as much of the first, best, and readiest of the rents, maills, and duties of the said Miln, Kiln, and Miln lands, and others, as will satisfy and pay the said yearly few dutys quarterly as said is, And in all Tacks to be granted by them and their said successors in office of the said Miln, Kiln, and Miln Lands, and pertinents, they Bind and oblige them to take the Tenant of said Miln Bound to advance and pay the said yearly few dutys respectively before mentioned by quarterly payments to the said Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council and their foresaids, or to their factor, and to report Discharges thereof to them quarterly as said is; and it is hereby agreed betwixt the said parties, That in case the said John Niven, George Kirk, and the other members of said Incorporation and their successors in office, shall at any time hereafter suffer and allow two years of the said feu duty to be unpaid, so as the third year shall be begun to run, Then and in that case, the present few

Contract and Infeftments and others to follow hereupon shall become ipso facto void and null, without the necessity of any proces or Decreet of Declarator[1] for that effect, And the said Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council hereby Declare that the said Incorporation of Bakers shall have right to the whole Thirlage arising upon Wheat made into Flour quo ad Invecta et illata[2] within the Burgh provided they can establish the same, And they are hereby declared at liberty to use the Towns name in a Court of Law if thought necessary for following out and ascertaining said Thirlage upon Wheat, the Town being free of all expences thereanent, And further the said Incorporation of Bakers and their foresaids are hereby expressly restricted and debarred from using or erecting the said Miln for any other purpose then the making of Flour allenarly,[3] The said Magistrates and Town Council and their foresaids, being on their part, Bound and obliged not to

[1] A Decree of Declarator is pronounced by the Court when it is necessary to obtain a judicial finding as to the extent and nature of a person's rights; thus where a right-of-way is claimed, the Landlord would bring an Action of Declarator to have it declared that no such right-of-way existed. In the same way a Declarator of Marriage would be pronounced to have the fact judicially ascertained.

[2] Quo ad invecta et illata. This term is now generally used in regard to questions of hypothec. A Landlord has a right to sequestrate articles brought within his tenant's property and to sell them for his rent. Such articles are the 'invecta et illata.' For instance, the household furniture in a flat is liable to the Landlord's hypothec because it is 'invecta et illata,' or the instruments or utensils in a workshop or a factory are liable to be seized for the rent on the same grounds. The phrase, in connection with 'Thirlage,' refers to the servitude by which certain proprietors or tenants of land are bound to carry all the grain produced on their lands to a particular mill to be ground, in order that the duties may be paid. The 'invecta et illata,' in this connection, would mean the grain not produced on the lands within the limits of the Thirl, but brought into it. Duty would, in some cases, nevertheless be payable on grain which was 'invecta et illata' into the Thirl. It means all grain brought within the Thirl 'that tholes fire or water.' This does not include baking and brewing, but applies to malting and drying. Accordingly, no multure is due in the Thirlage of 'invecta et illata' for flour or oatmeal imported in that state into the Thirl. According to Professor Bell, Thirlage was devised originally as an expedient for indemnifying the builder of a mill for extraordinary outlay in a rude age, but it has degenerated in times of more improved manufacture into a burdensome and inexpedient tax on the produce of land, and is now in a state of gradual extinction.

[3] Only.

errect or allow to be errected or use any Milns upon their water or property as a Flour Miln; and further the said John Niven, George Kirk, and the other members of said Incorporation and their foresaids, Bind and oblige themselves to uphold, repair, and maintain the Dam and Lands in the same way and manner as the Tenants of said Miln have been in the practice of doing, and that upon their own expences allenarlly, and also be obliged to have the said Miln, Kiln, and dwelling house constantly insured to the amount of Three hundred pounds Sterling at least, And Consent to the registration hereof in the Books of Council and Session, Burrow Court Books of S^{t} Andrews, or others competent; that letters of Horning[1] on six days charge and all other execution necessary may pass on a Decree to be interponed hereto in common form, and for that purpose the said Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of S^{t} Andrews Constitute

[blank] Their Procurators &^{c}. Moreover to to [sic] the effect that the said John Niven, George Kirk, and the other members of the said Incorporation of Bakers and their foresaids may be infeft and seased in the said Miln, Kiln lands, and others foresaid, they hereby desire and require you

[blank] and each of you, their Baillies in that part hereby specially constituted, that upon sight hereof ye pass to the ground of the said Miln, Kiln, lands, and others, and there GIVE and DELIVER to the said John Niven, George Kirk, and other members of the said Incorporation or their foresaids HERITABLE STATE and Sasine, real, actual, and corporal possession of ALL and HAILL that Miln, commonly called the Abbey Miln, now called the Flour Miln, with the Kiln, Mill Lands, steading, Miln lead and Dam as presently possessed by the said Incorporation, lying and described as aforesaid and here held as repeated brevitatis causa, and that

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[1] Letters of Horning. Letters of Horning are letters in the Sovereign's name. They are directed to Messengers-at-Arms, who are ordered to charge the person against whom the letters are directed to pay or perform something in terms of the Will of the letters. They have now been superseded by simple forms of diligence.

by delivery to the said John Niven, George Kirk, and the other members of the said Incorporation or their foresaids or to their certain attorney or attorneys in their names, bearers hereof, of earth and stone of the ground of the said lands, Clap and Happer for the said Miln,[1] and all other symbols usual and necessary, and this in no ways ye leave undone, The Which to do the said Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council commit to you, jointly and severally, their full power by this their precept of sasine, directed to you for that effect. In Witness whereof these presents are written upon this and the five preceeding pages of stamped paper by William Arnott, clerk to Stuart Grace, Town Clerk of S^{t} Andrews, ARE subscribed by the said parties, At S^{t} Andrews, the nineteenth day of November, One thousand eight hundred and five years, Before these witnesses, David Wright, writer in S^{t} Andrews, and the said Stuart Grace and William Arnott. (Signed) Rob. Key, D.G., Rob^{t} Meldrum, B., Geo. Hutton, B., James Todie, B., Alex^{r} Kirk, Andrew Walker, John Niven, D^{n}, George Kirk, B.M., John Kirk, David Wallace, Rob^{t} Walker, Henry Berwick, Robert Duncan, Thomas Motion. Stuart Grace, witness, David Wright, witness, William Arnott, witness.[2]

S^{t} Andrews, 2^{d} September, 1819.

WHICH DAY, the Deacon and remanent Members of Trade being Met and convened,—Considering the request of the Tenants of the Flour Miln for the Trade's Concurrence and Sanction towards their intended repair of the present Kiln, And that on 5th October, 1809, the Trade Agreed to

[1] The clap was a piece of wood that struck and so shook the hopper or happer when the grinding was in progress. Clap and happer were appropriate symbols for delivery of a mill, as earth and stone were appropriate symbols for delivery of land, and were taken from the land. The bearers are the persons employed in the act of delivering. A Superior's Bailie delivered earth and stone to the Attorney of the vassal, who then took instruments in the hands of the Notary. *Per fustem et baculum* was the delivery of land by staff and baton, and was derived from giving Sasine by the delivery of land by the symbols of stick, straw, or stone.

[2] The date of the foregoing is 1805, it is preceded by 1818, and followed by 1819, and is probably entered here in view of the dispute with the University.

allow them to build said Kiln, and in Case at the expiry of the Tenants' Lease, the same by Valuation should exceed the Sum of Twenty pounds, being the first Valuation, the Trade Should refund them for such additional Sum. Therefore they of new Approve of that Minute and hereby corroborate the same, and grant the Tenants' request accordingly.

[10th September 1819.]

Nomina Concilii.

The Deacon [John Fortune]	Robert Duncan
Boxmaster [Alexander Kirk]	David Wallace
John Rodger	William Hutton

At St Andrews, the fourth day of April, Eighteen hundred and twenty. In a Meeting of the Baker Trade

SEDERUNT

John Fortune, Deacon	
Alexr Kirk, Boxmr	Robert Duncan
William Hutton	Thomas Pattie
Alexr Aikman	John Rodger
David Wallace	James Motion
Henry Berwick	

WHICH DAY, the Meeting Considered that the liberties of the Trade have been shamefully encroached upon by John Morris, Merchant, by his baking Buns & Shortbread, Biscuits, and all manner of Pastry, and even of late a large quantity of Loaves for Sale; And also seeing that these abuses have been Continued for a Considerable time, and so far back as 17th December, 1812, the Trade, by their Minute of that date authorised the then Deacon and Boxmaster to prosecute such Pastry Bakers. The Meeting therefore unanimously agree and resolve to renew that order, and specially authorise and appoint the Deacon and Boxmaster, in name and for behoof of the Trade, to apply instantly to the Sheriff of the County for an Interdict against the said John Morris, from exercising or encroaching upon the liberties of the Trade in any degree; And the Meeting further Nominates as a Committee for assisting and advising with the Deacon and Boxmaster in

Carrying thro' the process, Robert Duncan, David Wallace, John Rodger, and Henry Berwick.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Twelfth day of July, Eighteen hundred & twenty.

Sederunt

John Fortune, Deacon	James Motion
Alexander Kirk, Boxmaster	Robert Duncan
John Rodger	Henry Berwick
Alexander Aikman	David Wallace
John Trail	Thomas Pattie
William Hutton	

Which day, the members of the Trade being convened agreeably to the above Sederunt, it was unanimously Resolved that the freedom of the Trade shall be heightened to neutral persons from twenty five pounds, which it is at present, to forty pounds Sterling, to take effect from and after this date; that to those who have served a regular apprenticeship to freemen of the Trade, it shall be heightened from fourteen pounds, which it is at present, to twenty pounds Sterl^{g}; but so far as regards them, the same not to have a retrospective tendency, but to be exacted only from those who shall be bound to the Trade from & after this date. It was also farther unanimously resolved that the dues payable to the Trade at the binding of each free apprentice shall be raised from twenty shillings to thirty shillings sterling from this date henceforward.

[8th September 1820.]

Nomina Concilii.

The Deacon [John Fortune]	John Rodger
Boxmaster [Alex. Kirk]	William Hutton
Robert Duncan	Alexander Aikman

[14th September 1821.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [Henry Berwick] & Boxmaster [Alex. Kirk]

Robert Duncan	Deacon Fortune
John Rodger	Deacon Hutton

[13th September 1822.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [Henry Berwick] & Boxmaster [Thomas Patie]

Deacon Fortune	Robt Duncan
Deacon Hutton	Alexr Kirk

[12th September 1823.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [Henry Berwick] & Boxmaster [Thomas Patie]

John Rodger	Alexr Kirk
Robt Duncan	John Fortune

At St Andrews, the Tenth day of february, Eighteen hundred and twenty four years. In a Meeting of the Baker Trade.

Present,

Deacon Berwick
Thos Pattie, Boxmaster

Wm Hutton	George Kirk
John Fortune	John Rodger
John Trail	Alexr Kirk
John Kirk	
John Niven	
Alexr Aikman	
Robert Duncan	

Which day, the Trade considering that the Newmiln Dam dyke was sometime ago carried away by the overflowing of the Dam, and that it is necessary that the same be immediately Repaired or Rebuilt, therefore they agree to allow the one half of the expence of Rebuilding the said Dam dyke, the other half of the said Expence being defrayed by the Tacksmen of the flour Miln, Provided that the same is built and executed in a substantial manner, and the Trade hereby authorise the said Tacksmen to have the work commenced & completed as speedily as possible, and upon the expence thereof being ascertained, empower the factor or Boxmaster of the Trade to pay the Trade's half thereof, And to place the same to the debit of the Trade.

At S[t] Andrews, the Second day of June, Eighteen Hundred and Twenty Four years; In a Meeting of the Baker Trade,

Sederunt:

Deacon Henry Berwick	John Rodger
Robert Duncan	John Fortune
Alexander Kirk	George Kirk
John Trail	Alexander Aikman
William Hutton	Thomas Pattie
	John Kirk

WHICH DAY, the Trade being met, and having taken into consideration that in terms of the foregoing Minute the Trade agreed to be at the one half of the expence of building a new dam dyke in consequence of the former Dyke having been carried away by a spet; The Members of Trade, along with the Tacksmen of the Abbey Mill, conceiving that the water will be conveyed as well without the erection of said Dam Dyke, when a new Water Wheel is fitted up on the Law Mill; they hereby recall the foregoing Minute and declare the same void & null; & as the Tacksmen of the Abbey mill are to be at the sole expence of erecting said Water Wheel, if the same when erected shall be found unfit for the purpose intended, they engage themselves to pay to the Trade the sum of Fifteen pounds Sterling at the expiry of their Lease of said Mill.

[10th September 1824.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon Kirk	John Rodger
Thomas Pattie	Deacon William Hutton
Deacon Henry Berwick	Robert Duncan

[9th September 1825.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [Alexander Kirk] & Boxmaster [Samuel Walker]

Convener Berwick	John Fortune
Robert Duncan	John Rodger

[20th December 1825.]

I, Alexander Kirk, present Deacon of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews, in name of the said Trade Do hereby bind the said Baker Trade to pay the following sums of money for behoof of James Motion, S^{t} Andrews, for the purpose of keeping him from begging on the public Streets, viz^{t}, Five pounds, ten shillings, St^{g}, yearly, for the present year commencing from the first day of January current; And Four pounds St^{g}. yearly for three successive years thereafter; payable quarterly, in the event of the said James Motion surviving during the above four years. Signed by me, at S^{t} Andrews, the third day of January, Eighteen hundred & twenty six, before these witnesses, Henry Berwick, Convener of the Trades, & John Buchan, Writer, S^{t} Andrews.

Alex^{r} Kirk, Dean.

[8th September 1826.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon Kirk	M^{r} Robert Duncan
Samuel Walker, Box	M^{r} John Rodger
Con^{r} Henry Berwick	Deacon W^{m} Hutton

2^{d} May 1829, Examined this Book from Sept^{r} 1821 to this date & find that John Fyall & Alex. Thomson have been admitted without paying stamped duty.

Alex McCraw, Insp^{r}.

S^{t} Andrews, 18th May, 1827, In a Meeting of the Baker Trade,

Sederunt:

Deacon Kirk	John Rodger
Henry Berwick	John Fortune
Robert Duncan	George Kirk
John Trail	Alexander Aikman
William Hutton	Thomas Pattie
Samuel Walker	Alexander Thomson

WHICH day, the Trade being met, the Deacon stated he had called this meeting for the purpose of informing them

that George Kinnear, lately resident on the North side of Argyle, had now removed to the South side, and commenced baking there, which is within the jurisdiction and liberties of this City, And in consequence of his doing so was now liable to enter to the freedom of this Trade, or to produce satisfactory evidence to the Trade that he can carry on the business of a Baker without entering to the Trade; which having been considered by the meeting, they unanimously authorise the Clerk to write to the said George Kinnear, and request him to meet in the Town Clerk's office with the Deacon, on Monday, the Twenty first, Current, at three oClock afternoon, then to enter to the freedom of the Trade, or to prcduce evidence to the satisfaction of the Trade that he has a right to carry on and exercise the business of a Baker within the liberties of this City without becoming a Member of this Incorporation.

St Andrews, 21 May, 1827.

WHICH DAY, the Trade being met along with the Members of the Mill Committee, and Considering that the Lease of the Flour Mill let by the Trade for the space of Nineteen years to said Committee expired at the term of Whitsunday last, and that agreeable to a Minute entered into between them, the said Mill, Kiln, whole Machinery and apparatus thereto belonging, was valued by Messrs John Keddie, John Kennedy, William Fernie, Alexander Anderson, and James Millar, and that the value of the valuation amounted to Twenty Nine pounds, four shillings, and Eleven pence, Stg., above the valuation thereof when said Committee entered to the possession of said Miln & kiln, under deduction of Two pounds, five shillings, and six pence, being the value of the Cart, Harness, & Spade & Grape[1] at said Miln, and also under deduction of Four pounds, one shilling, and six pence, being the value of the Trows[2] at the new miln, at the time of the entry of the said Committee, and also now seeing that

[1] A manure fork.

[2] The sluice of the mill-lead.

the Trade have paid to the Members of the said Committee the sum of Twenty Two pounds, Seventeen Shillings, and Eleven pence, Sterling, being the surplus value of the said Miln, kiln, Machinery, & whole apparatus, under deduction as aforesaid; Therefore they, the said Committee, do hereby discharge the said Trade of the same and of all claims they have against the said Trade; And the Trade do hereby Discharge the said Committee of all claims they have against the said Committee, at and preceding this date; and Moreover, both parties do hereby Mutually discharge each other accordingly.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Twenty first day of May, Eighteen hundred and Twenty Seven Years; In a Meeting of the Baker Trade,

Sederunt,

Deacon Kirk	Robert Duncan
Alexander Aikman	Thomas Pattie
John Kirk	Samuel Walker
John Fortune	William Hutton
John Rodger	Alexander Thomson
George Kirk	Henry Berwick

Which day, the Trade being met, the Deacon stated that George Kinnear had been wrote to by M^{r} Grace to appear in his office this day at three oClock afternoon to enter to the freedom of the Trade or produce evidence to the Trade that he has a right to carry on the business of a Baker without entering to the freedom of this Incorporation, but that he had failed to appear; and he now wished to know the sentiments of the Trade on the subject. The Meeting having considered the Statement of the Deacon, they authorise & empower the Deacon to employ M^{r} Buchan, Writer here, to Petition the Magistrates for an Interdict against the said George Kinnear, or to take any other steps against the said George Kinnear as may be deemed adviseable for the Interest of the Trade.

[14th September 1827.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon John Rodger Deacon William Hutton

Boxmaster Samuel Walker Mr Robert Duncan
Convener Henry Berwick Deacon Alex. Kirk

St Andrews, 9th November, 1827.

A.McC. WHICH DAY, the Deacon and remanent members of Trade being met and convened, John Fyall, Baker, St Andrews, second lawful son of James Fyall, residing in St Andrews, was admitted and received into the haill freedom, liberties and priviledges of the Baker Trade as a member thereof, at the sum of Forty pounds, Sterling, conform to Minute and act of Trade, dated the Twelfth day of July, Eighteen Hundred and Twenty; the said sum being paid the one half in Cash and the other half contained in Bill at Twelve months date, all other dues of Trade being paid, and he made faith as use is, and to serve as officer for a year.[1]

St Andrews, 11th September, 1828.

WHICH DAY, the Deacon & Remanent members of Trade being met and convened, they unanimously agreed to and do hereby Set and in Tack and assedation Let to David Wann, Landlabourer, Argyle, beside St Andrews, and his heirs, always including Subtenants, All and Haill that acre of Land lying in the Priory of Saint Andrews, in that shedd or Territory called the wet acre, belonging to this Trade, and that for the whole time and space of Nine years full and complete, from and after the term of Martinmas next to come, at the yearly rent of Four pounds, five shillings, Sterling, payable at the term of Whitsunday yearly during this Lease, to the Boxmaster of the Trade for the time being, always for behoof & for the use of the Incorporation; During which space the said David Wann shall be Bound and obliged to labour, Crop, and Cultivate the said Land according to the most approved rules of husbandry, and not to deteriorate or run out the same by due Cropping; And I, the said David Wann, in token of my acceptance of the foregoing Lease, do hereby subscribe this Minute of Lease, along with the Deacon,

[1] On the margin of this entry are the letters A. McC., being the initials of Alexander McCraw, the Government Inspector of Stamps.

at S[t] Andrews the said Eleventh day of September, Eighteen Hundred & Twenty Eight years, Before these Witnesses, Alexander Thomson, Writer, S[t] Andrews, and James Ireland, Vintner there.—This Minute of Lease being written by the said Alexander Thomson.

[12th September 1828.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [John Rodger] & Boxmaster [Alexander Thomson].

D[n] Alex: Kirk	George Kirk
Samuel Walker	Thomas Pattie

At S[t] Andrews, the Thirtieth day of September, Eighteen Hundred and Twenty Eight years; In a Meeting of the Baker Trade,

Sederunt

Deacon Rodger	John Fyall
Robert Duncan	Samuel Walker
Henry Berwick	Alex: Thomson
William Hutton	Alex: Kirk
Thomas Pattie	Alex: Aikman

WHICH DAY, the Trade being met, it was unanimously agreed to that each member of the Incorporation shall charge the following sums for the Firing or making ready the following articles,

		£	
for Each	peck of Meal Baking		2
,,	½ Doz of Cakes fired		½
,,	number above not exceeding 12		1
,,	Roast below 12 lib		1
,,	Roast above 12 lib		2
,,	Pudding		½
,,	Light Cake or Seed Cake		1
,,	Dish of Fish		½
,,	Pig or Turkey		2
,,	Pair Fowels		1
,,	pair Pigeons or Partridges		1
,,	for each Pye with Flouer sent		1

For each	D. lippie Short Bread afforded by the employer	1
,,	,, peck of floor, Baking furnished by the employer	2
,,	,, each Dish Potatoes roasting	1
,,	,, Dozen small soal Pies[1]	1
,,	,, Pie, flour bought from the Baker	½
,,	,, Hare or pair Rabbits	1

The Trade as marked in the foregoing Sederunt having unanimously resolved to charge for each of the articles above enumerated the sums charged opposite thereto, they further agree and Bind and oblige themselves to strictly abide by & charge accordingly, under the penalty of one Guinea for each offence; And Further, in the event of any of the members contravening the above Laws or any of them, and it being proved, then and in every case, where the trespasser is convicted, the Fine or Fines shall be paid to the poor members of the Trade, always with the approbation of the members of Trade in what proportions it shall be paid; Moreover it was unanimously agreed to that a sufficient number of hand Bills containing the foregoing charges be printed and a quantity delivered to each member to be distributed amongst their several customers; In token of the obligation on each member as above specified they respectively subscribe this Minute.

St Andrews, 17th November, 1828.

In a Meeting of the Baker Trade,
Present,

Deacon Rodger	Alexander Kirk
Henry Berwick	John Kirk
Robert Duncan	Samuel Walker
William Hutton	Thomas Pattie
John Fortune	

[1] Doubtless small pies, so called from the size of their bottoms or soles or from being baked on a sole or tin. The price of one penny for firing a dish has been long maintained. In the account of Thomas Fraser, Pastry Cook, Inverness, against Mr Gib, the principal butler to the young Pretender, there is amongst other very interesting items, one 'to fyring and attending 80 dishes, 6.8d,' on 6th March 1746.

WHICH day, the Trade considering that their present Boxmaster, Alexander Thomson, has from some pecuniary embarrasements been under the Necessity of leaving this City & liberties, and in consequence will not be able to attend to the Current accounts of the Trade, And his account Book having been sent to the Deacon, the Trade unanimously agree to close his account & shew the present balance. The said account of the said Alexander having been read & Examined, there was found that the said Alexander Thomson is at present due to the Trade the sum of One pound, Seventeen shillings, which sum the Trade authorise the Deacon to obtain payment of so soon as circumstances will admit. The Trade considering that it is absolutely necessary that a person be appointed ad interim to take charge of the Expenditure & Income of the Trade, they have Elected & made choice of, and do hereby Elect & choose, Deacon William Hutton, to be Factor & Manager of the Trade's funds, until next ensuing Election, & the said William Hutton, being present, accepted of the said office.

The Trade further considering that the said Alexander Thomson is also due to the Trade Five Shillings & four pence for Grinding Wheat, the Trade authorise the Deacon to obtain payment. . . .

Balance of acc.	£1	17	-
Wheat Grinding		5	4
sum due	£2	2	4

St Andrews, 22 Decem, 1828.

In a Meeting of the Baker Trade,

Present,

Deacon Rodger	John Fyall
Robert Duncan	Samuel Walker
Henry Berwick	Alex Aitkman
Wm Hutton	Tho Pattie
	Geo: Kirk

Which day, the Incorporation as marked in the above Sederunt being met, the Deacon stated that in terms of a

resolution of the Trade he had this day called upon the Dean of Guild & requested that he would sanction a new assize of Bread agreeable to the present price of Wheat & in exact conformity with the act of Parliament, to which request the Dean of Guild replied, "he might call upon him in a week."

The Trade considering that the Dean of Guild's answer was altogether evasive, & that the present prices of Wheat were far above the Assize now used, unanimously resolve that the Deacon shall write the Dean of Guild requesting that he will either accept of the Members of the Incorporation, or allow farmers or Dealers in Wheat to give their Depositions in evidence of the present current price.[1] . . .

St Andrews, 4th May, 1829.

In a Meeting of the Baker Trade,

Sedurunt,

Deacon Rodger	John Fyall
William Hutton	Samuel Walker
Henry Berwick	Alex: Kirk
Robert Duncan	Thomas Pattie
George Kirk	John Trail
John Kirk	John Fortune

WHICH DAY, the Members of Trade as Marked in the above Sederunt being met, It was stated that as the Floor Mill had now become so ruinous as to render it absolutely

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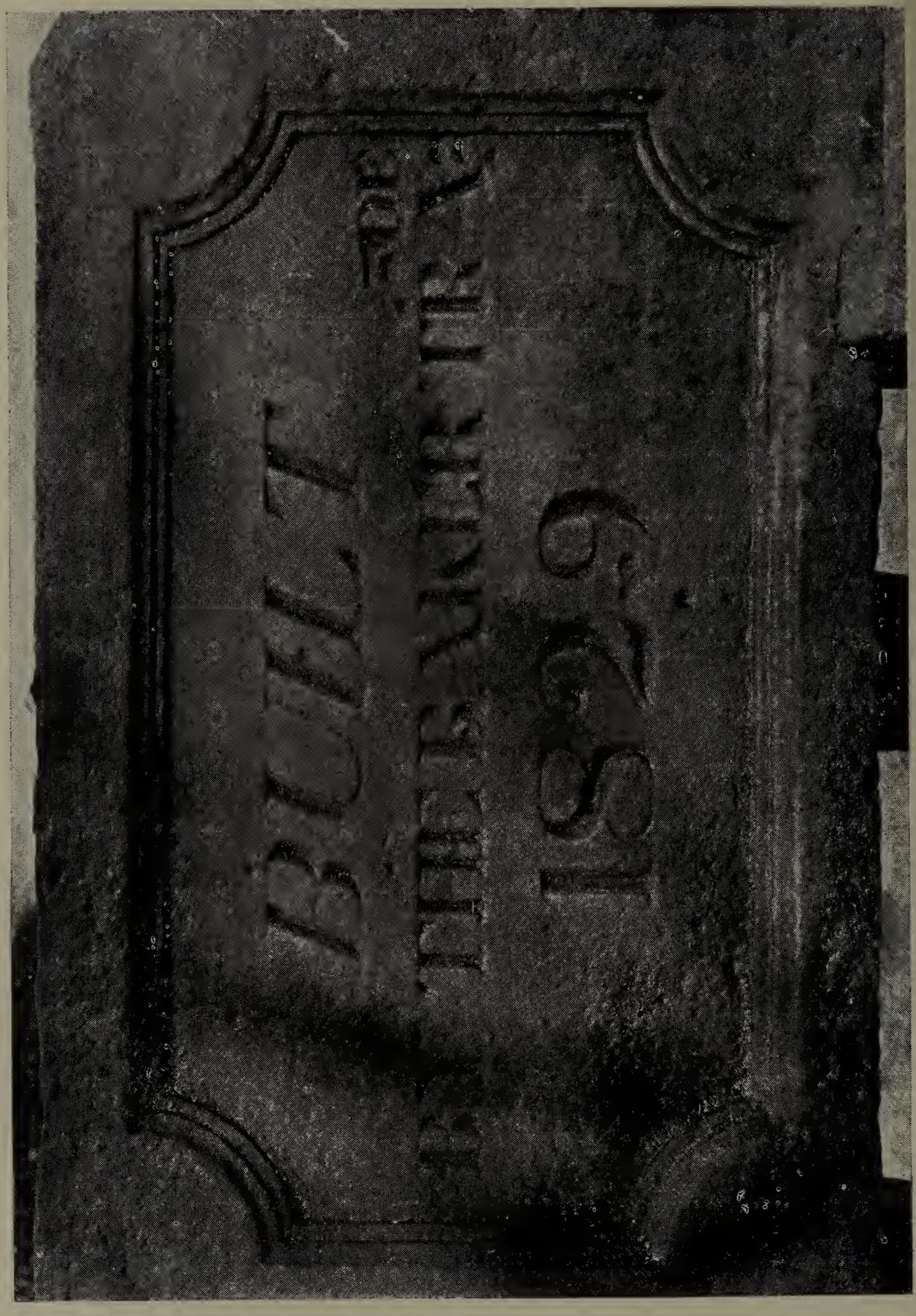
[1] Although the Assize of Bread was set by the Magistrates, the official jurisdiction of the Dean of Guild gave him a prominent position. Glasgow Town Council, on 29th August 1657, 'ordaines the deane of gild to caus call in the haill meassoures the baxters hes and to sie them maid right the most commodious way he and the rest of his bretherine shall think expedient, conform to the standert, and this to be don with all diligence.' Dr Hay Fleming published last year a very interesting little pamphlet on 'the Bread Assize in St. Andrews,' founded upon the 'Bread Assize Book begun at St. Andrews the fifth Day of May 1788, and ending the twentieth day of January 1834.' In the table given the last Assize before this Minute was of the date 17th October 1828, in which the boll of wheat was priced at £1 11s, and the best quartern loaf was sold at 10d, and the second at 9d. The next Assize was delivered on 27th December—five days after the above meeting, and nearly the week for which the Dean had stipulated—when wheat was at £1 13s, and the bread was raised to 11d and 9d respectively. By 24th January 1829, however, prices had receded to £1 11s for wheat, and to 10d and 9d for bread.



Slab from the Abbey Flour Mill.

necessary to be taken down and rebuilt, and as little delay ought to take place in forwarding the work, the Trade ought to give their consent thereto previous to advertising for Estimates. The Trade Considering that the Floor Mill is in a very ruinous state & if not thoroughly repaired will very soon fall, they hereby authorise the Deacon & Factor to advertise for Estimates to rebuild said Floor Mill, and to accept of such Estimate as to them may be appear for the Interest of the Trade, and empower them to enter into an agreement with the Contractors preferred to execute the work; And in the event of the Trades funds falling short of the Estimated Expence, authorise and empower the Deacon & Factor to borrow what sum may be defficient and to grant their Bill therefor in name of Trade. . . .

We, John Rodger, Deacon, and William Hutton, Factor, of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews, for ourselves and in Name of the remanent Members of said Trade and as authorised by them, on the one part, and James Berwick, Wright in S^{t} Andrews, and Andrew Mitchell, Mason there, on the other part, CONSIDERING that the said Baker Trade did sometime ago advertise for Estimates to rebuild the Floor or Abbey Mill of S^{t} Andrews agreeably to a plan and specifications thereof; and that after the prescribed time had expired to lodge Estimates, the said Baker Trade proceeded to open such as had been given in, when it was found that the said James Berwick was the lowest Estimate for the finishing of the Wright, Slater, and Plaster work at the sum of Two Hundred and Thirty pounds Sterling, and that the said Andrew Mitchell was the lowest Estimate for the Mason work of said Mill at the sum of One Hundred and Eighty one pounds, Ten shillings, & Six pence, Sterling, And that they were accordingly preferred by the said Baker Trade to execute the work offered for by them respectively, conform to Missives[1] exchanged betwixt the parties on the Twenty

[1] A business agreement in the form of a letter which might be afterwards extended in proper form.

Eighth Instant; And FURTHER CONSIDERING that it was resolved on by the said Trade, and the said James Berwick and Andrew Mitchell to enter into a Contract of Agreement to be Minuted in the Register of said Incorporation; THEREFORE witt ye us, the said John Rodger and William Hutton for ourselves, and in name of, and as authorised as aforesaid, to be BOUND and OBLIGED, As We for ourselves & in Name of and as authorised as aforesaid, BIND and OBLIGE ourselves to make payment to the said James Berwick And Andrew Mitchell of the sums of Money following, viz^{t}, To pay to the said James Berwick the sum of Fifty Pounds Sterling on the Tenth day of June, the Sum of Seventy Pounds Sterling on the Fifteenth day of July, both next, and the remainder of the Estimate when the work is finished and taken off his hands as aftermentioned, by a Bill granted by us for the said Trade to him at Three Months; And also to pay the said Andrew Mitchell the sum of Fifty pounds on said Tenth June, the sum of Seventy pounds on said Fifteenth July, and the remainder of the Estimate when the work is finished and taken off his hands as aftermentioned, by Bill as above expressed; AS ALSO to implement and fulfill the whole obligations incumbent on the said Trade, as contained in the specifications of said work and which are here referred to; and Henry Berwick, Baker in S^{t} Andrews, hereby Binds and obliges himself, his heirs, & successors, as Cautioner and surety for the said Baker Trade, and failing their performing the premisses to pay Thirty pounds to the said James Berwick, and Twenty pounds to the said Andrew Mitchell in Name of penalty, over and above performance; FOR WHICH CAUSES and on the other part, I, the said James Berwick, do hereby BIND and OBLIGE myself to perform, implement, and fulfill my Estimate in all respects in terms of, and in conformity to, the Plan and specifications of said work, and to have the said Mill roofed in within Fourteen days after the walls are erected, And the whole of the remaining wòrk to be finished with all possible dispatch, and failing my performing the obligations incumbent on me by said Plan

and specifications to pay to the said Trade the sum of Thirty pounds Sterling in name of penalty in case of failure, over and above performance; and for my fidelity and faithful performance of the premisses, William Anderson, Watchmaker, S^{t} Andrews, hereby Binds & obliges himself & his heirs & successors as Cautioner & surety for and with me; And also to pay the said penalty in the event of non performance by me; And I, the said Andrew Mitchell, do hereby Bind and oblige myself to perform, implement, and fulfill my estimate in all respects in terms of and agreeable to the Plan and specifications of said work, and to have the whole of the said Mason work completed by the first day of August next; and for my more sure performance of the obligations incumbent on me, James Mitchell, Mason in Saint Andrews, hereby BINDS and OBLIGES himself and his heirs and successors as Cautioner and surety for and with Me, that I, the said Andrew Mitchell, shall finish the Mason work of said Mill agreeable to the plan and specifications thereof, under the penalty of Twenty pounds Sterling to be paid by him over and above performance; And it is hereby declared that altho' the Cautioners of the said James Berwick and Andrew Mitchell have subscribed each page of this contract of agreement, yet notwithstanding, each Cautioner shall only be liable for the amount of the sum before specified, and entitled only to make up & fulfill the obligations incumbent on him as before written respectively, in case of failure; And it is hereby further Declared that before the last Instalment shall be paid to the said James Berwick and Andrew Mitchell respectively, the work Must be examined and reported on to be sufficiently executed in terms of the plan & specifications, by men of skill to be named by the said Trade and contractors respectively for that purpose; And the whole parties and Cautioners before named, BIND and OBLIGE themselves to enter into a regular contract upon stamped paper when required, the one half of the Expence of which to be paid by the said James Berwick and Andrew Mitchell in proportion to their respective Estimates, and the other half by the said

Baker Trade. In Witness whereof, we, the said John Rodger and William Hutton, in Name of and as authorised as aforesaid, and we, the said James Berwick and Andrew Mitchell, Contractors and us the said Henry Berwick, William Anderson, and James Mitchell as Cautioners for the respective parties, have subscribed this Minute of Agreement written upon this and Seven preceding pages by Alexander Thomson, Clerk to Charles Grace, City Clerk of S^{t} Andrews, at S^{t} Andrews, the Thirtieth day of May, Eighteen Hundred and Twenty Nine years, before these witnesses, Walter Adamson, Vintner in S^{t} Andrews, and the said Alexander Thomson; And as the Cautioner for me, the said Andrew Mitchell, is my son, and as the said Baker Trade have required me to find ample Caution for my performance of the premisses over and above my said son, therefore I hereby Bind & oblige myself to find such Caution before the first Instalment falls due.

Henry Berwick

W^{m} Anderson	John Rodger, D^{n}
James Mitchell	William Hutton
Walter Adamson, witness	Ja^{s} Berwick
Alex: Thomson, witness	And^{w} Mitchell

I, Andrew Mitchell, Mason, S^{t} Andrews, Contractor for the Mason Work, as designed the Contract of agreement immediately preceding, CONSIDERING That I have failed to find sufficient Security for my completing the Mason Work of the Floor Mill of Saint Andrews, over and above that of my son, James Mitchell; Therefore I hereby Bind and oblige myself not only to erect the Mason Work of said Mill in terms of the plan & specifications thereof, & to complete the same in conformity thereto in all respects, BUT ALSO to pay to the said Baker Trade the sum of FORTY POUNDS Sterling, over and above the sum of Twenty pounds Sterling as specified and contained in the agreement before written & which is here referred to; thereby making the total sum in name of penalty payable by me, and the said James Mitchell to the said Baker Trade Sixty pounds Sterling, in case of

failure on our part, and that over and above performance; And we, the said Andrew Mitchell as Contractor, & the said James Mitchell as Cautioner & Surety for the said Andrew Mitchell, hereby Declare that this addition to the contract of agreement so far as regards us shall not invalidate or affect the foresaid Contract of agreement or any part thereof (so far as regards us[1]) but shall be taken in conjunction therewith; IN WITNESS WHEREOF we have subscribed this addition to the Contract of agreement on our part, written on this and the preceding page by Alexander Thomson, Clerk to Charles Grace, City Clerk of S^{t} Andrews, at S^{t} Andrews, the Twelfth day of June, Eighteen Hundred & Twenty Nine years before these Witnesses, the said Alexander Thomson, and James Smith, Vintner in S^{t} Andrews; Five words being delete before signing.

And^{w} Mitchell
James Mitchell

James Smith, wittness
Alex: Thomson, Witness

[11th September 1829.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [John Rodger] &	Boxmaster [John Fyall]
Alexander Kirk	Robert Duncan
William Hutton	John Trail

We, John Rodger, Deacon, and John Fyall, Boxmaster, for ourselves, and as representing the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews, as authorised by said Incorporation, have set and in Tack & assedation Let to John Munro, Plasterer, S^{t} Andrews, and his heirs, All and Whole That piece of ground lying on the North East side of the Mill Dam of S^{t} Andrews, belonging to the said Incorporation, as the same is inclosed by a Stone Wall, And that for the space of Eight years full and complete from & after the term of Whitsunday first, Eighteen Hundred and Thirty. In Consideration whereof I, the said John Munro, hereby Bind and oblige myself and my

[1] See remark at end of entry about five words being 'delete.'

foresaids to pay to the Boxmaster of said Baker Trade, always for the use & behoof of said Trade, the sum of one pound, Twelve shillings, Sterling, of yearly rent, payable quarterly at the term of Whitsunday, Lambas, Martinmas, & Candlemas, by equal portions, beginning the first quarter's payment of the said rent at the term of Lambas first, And so on at the said terms above mentioned, during the currency of this Lease, And I, the said John Munro, not only Bind and oblige myself to uphold the said Dyke during the currency of this Lease and to leave it in as good condition at the expiration hereof as at Entry, but also to flit and remove from said premisses at the expiration hereof without any warning being used against me for that effect; In witness whereof this Minute of Lease, written on this and the two preceding pages, by Alexander Thomson, Clerk to Charles Grace, City Clerk of S^{t} Andrews, and subscribed by the parties at S^{t} Andrews, the Fourteenth day of May, Eighteen Hundred & Thirty Years, before these Witnesses, James Hutton, Senior, Wright, S^{t} Andrews, & the said Alexander Thomson.

John Rodger, Decan
James Hutton, Witness — John Fyall, B.M^{r}
Alex: Thomson, Witness — John Munro

To The deacon, Boxmaster, and Remanent Members of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews.

Gentlemen,

As you sometime ago agree to allow William Cunningham, the former Tacksman of the New Mill, now deceased, and from whose heirs I have purchased his Tack of that Mill, to fill up the space betwixt the late Mill damn and the present lead, over which you formerly had wooden Trows, and as by the alteration of that damn it was deemed unnecessary to make use of the Trows alluded to, and as by my predecessors filling up said space I have now right to use the same; THEREFORE I hereby Bind and oblige myself and my heirs and successors not only to pay you and your successors in office for behoof of the Baker Trade the sum of

Four pence Sterling yearly therefore during my Lease, but also to cede, quit, and give up possession, and also to open the same as formerly, whenever you or your successors in office or the said Baker Trade require the same. I am

S^{t} Andrews
26th July 1830 } Gentlemen,
Your Mo: Ob^{t} Serv^{t}
James Ronald

Alex: Thomson, Witness
James Ireland, witness

I, John Mentiplay, Carter, Argyle, beside S^{t} Andrews Considering that I have feued from the United College of S^{t} Andrews a piece of ground lying to the westward of the Argyle Toll Bar, upon which I sometime ago erected a Dwelling House and Stables &c, and that the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews granted me the liberty of carrying off the surface water by a Drain or conduit leading into the Mill Lead, and as the said Trade have required me to give them a written Obligation Declaring the said Grant to be merely optional on their part, and that neither I nor my successors shall have the liberty of claiming a possessory right thereto, which request I deem reasonable; Therefore I not only hereby Declare the said right to be optional on the part of the said Baker Trade and of their successors; but also that I shall cede and give up the use and priviledge of the same, whenever I or my foresaids are required so to do, either by the present or future Members of said Incorporation; And further, I oblige myself and my foresaids to keep that part of the said Lead into which the refuse of the above mentioned conduit may be conveyed, clear at all times, and the more especially when I am required to do so by the said Trade; In Witness whereof I have Subscribed this obligation, written on this and the two preceding pages of the Record of said Incorporation, by Alexander Thomson, Clerk to Charles Grace, City Clerk of S^{t} Andrews, at Argyle, beside S^{t} Andrews, the Thirty first day of August, Eighteen Hundred & Thirty years, Before these Witnesses, the said Alexander Thomson and John Litster, Tacksman of Argyle Toll Bar, S^{t} Andrews.

his
Alex: Thomson, Witness John X Mentiplay
John Litster, Witness mark

St Andrews, 31st August, 1830.

WHICH day, the Deacon & Remanent Members of Trade being met and convened, Andrew Duncan, Baker, St Andrews, Eldest lawful son of Mr. Robert Duncan, Baker there, a Member of Trade, was admitted and received into the haill freedom, liberties, and priviledges of this Trade as a Member thereof, all dues of Trade being paid, and he made faith as use is, and is to serve as officer for a year. The Extract of the admission of the said Andrew Duncan being written on a Stamp denoting a Duty of ONE POUND Sterling, and lodged in the Trade's Box for the Inspection of the Inspector of Stamp Duties in terms of the Act of Parliament.

[10th September 1830.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [Thomas Pattie] & Boxmaster [John Fyall]
Deacon Rodger George Kirk
Samuel Walker John Trail

[9th September 1831.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [Thomas Pattie] & Boxmaster [John Fyall]
John Rodger Samuel Walker
Robert Duncan Alexander Kirk

10th April 1832
Exd Alex McCraw, Inspr

At St Andrews, the Sixteenth day of April, Eighteen Hundred and Thirty two years; In a Meeting of the Baker Trade,

WHICH DAY, the Trade being met, the Deacon stated that an application had been made to him by Mr Grace,

Agent for the Trustees of the Madras College,[1] S^{t} Andrews, for liberty to cut a Drain or Conduit from the ground of the Madras College to pass through the ground below the Mill Lead or acquduct belonging to this trade, and from thence down to the Nether Burn, for the purpose of carrying off the Water from the foundation and buildings of the Madras College, the expence of which Drain or Conduit would be defrayed by the said Trustees.

The Trade having considered the said application unanimously agree to grant the Trustees of the Madras College the priviledge of carrying said drain through the ground below the Mill Lead, upon the express understanding that the said Trustees and their successors in office uphold that drain or Conduit, and that portion of the Lead immediately above which the Conduit shall run, and be answerable in all time coming for any damages that the present members of this Trade or their successors may sustain, if at any future period the said conduit or drain shall break out or be insufficient and thereby prevent the run of the water from its regular course onwards to the Mill Dam; and also upon the express understanding that the said Trustees shall pay to the Baker Trade such sum per day as shall be fixed upon during the period that the water may be stopped while the said Drain or Conduit is making; Over and above which the said Trustees shall be bound to subscribe an obligation Declaring that they and their successors in office shall be Bound and Obliged to uphold the said Drain or Conduit and that portion of the lead immediately under which it shall pass in all time coming, to the effect and in the terms above mentioned; such obligation and Declaration to be entered into the Trades Book and subscribed by the said Trustees. . . .

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[1] The foundation-stone of Madras College had been laid a week before this meeting. The building cost £18,000, part of a bequest of £43,000 by Dr Andrew Bell, whose schools in Edinburgh, Leith, Glasgow, and elsewhere were well known a generation ago. He was a native of St. Andrews, where his father was a hair-dresser, and he died on 27th January 1832, not three months before the date of the above minute.

S^{t} Andrews, [blank] Sept^{r}, 1832.

WE, Subscribing Trustees of the Madras College, S^{t} Andrews, do hereby agree to the obligations imposed on us by the foregoing Minute, and hereby Bind and Oblige ourselves as Trustees foresaid, and our successors in the said Trust, to implement the same to the Baker Trade to the effect expressed in the said Minute.

Robert Haldane[1]
Geo: Buist[2]
And^{w} Alexander[3]

[14th September 1832.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon Thomas Pattie	Alexander Kirk
John Trail	Samuel Walker
John Rodger	Robert Duncan

I, William Marr, Tacksman of the Shore Mill of S^{t} Andrews, Considering that when I entered to the Lease of said Mill, which was used for Grindmill Barley & Malt, I applied to, and was authorised by, the Incorporation of Bakers, S^{t} Andrews, the Tacksmen or Feuars of the Abbey Floor Miln, and who, as such, have the sole & only power of grinding wheat on the water run from Lawmiln to the shore, in terms of their articles or Contract of feu, to erect stones and other apparatus in said shore Miln for the purpose of grinding Wheat; Which priviledge was granted me by said Incorporation on the express understanding that I should remove the same and cease to grind Wheat in said Mill, when required by the said Incorporation; Therefore I hereby Bind and oblige myself and my heirs and successors to

[1] Professor Haldane was the Principal of St. Mary's College and Professor of Systematic Theology. He was appointed by the Crown in 1820. Dr Buist and he were ministers of the city and parish of St. Andrews.

[2] Dr Buist was the Professor of Ecclesiastical History in St. Mary's, to which chair he was appointed in 1823.

[3] Dr Alexander was the Professor of Greek in the University (appointed in 1820), and had been specially nominated as a Governor of Madras School by the founder.

remove the apparatus thus erected, and to cease grinding Wheat at said Mill, and that as soon as the said Incorporation require me or my foresaids so to do; In Witness Whereof the obligation written on this and the preceding page of the record of the said Baker Trade by Alexander Thomson, Clerk to Charles Grace, City Clerk of S^{t} Andrews, and subscribed by me, at S^{t} Andrews, the Third day of December, Eighteen Hundred and Thirty Two years, Before these Witnesses, the said Alexander Thomson and George Skinner, also Clerk to the said Charles Grace.

William Marr.

[13th September 1833.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [John Fyall] & Boxmaster [Andrew Duncan]

John Rodger	Robert Duncan
John Fortune	Alexander Kirk

At S^{t} Andrews, the Fourth day of October, Eighteen hundred and Thirty three years; In a Meeting of the Baker Trade,

Sederunt,

Deacon Fyall	Andrew Duncan
Robert Duncan	George Kirk
Alexander Kirk	John Trail
William Hutton	John Fortune
John Rodger	Thomas Pattie
Samuel Walker	

WHICH day, the Deacon stated that at a Meeting of the Seven Trades held here on the Thirtieth September last, they recommended the various Incorporations to agree to pay the amount of the account now due to M^{r} Daniel Fisher for conducting a process against the Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of S^{t} Andrews, in order to have further litigation ended, and as this mode appeared reasonable he submitted to this Meeting that they should authorise him and the Boxmaster to pay the Seventh share of the amount of that Account; Which Statement of the Deacon having been

considered by the Meeting, they unanimously agree to, and hereby authorise and empower, the Deacon and Boxmaster to uplift from the Bank such a Sum as will pay the seventh share of the account alluded to now due, and to pay the same when the other Trades do so, with Certification that this Trade shall not be liable for any additional sum to the present amount of Mr Fisher's Account. . . .

[12th September 1834.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [John Fyall] & Boxmaster [Andrew Duncan]

William Hutton	Alexander Kirk
John Rodger	John Trail

[11th September 1835.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [John Fyall] & Factor [John Rodger]

Andrew Duncan	Alexander Kirk
Robert Duncan	John Trail

At St Andrews, the second day of July, Eighteen Hundred and Thirty Six years;

In a Meeting of the Baker Trade,

Present,

Deacon John Fyall	John Kirk
John Trail	Robert Duncan
Alexander Aikman	Alexander Kirk
William Hutton	Thomas Pattie
Samuel Walker	

WHICH DAY, the Trade being met, Deacon Fyall moved that this Trade should, as a Corporation, dissolve, and that hereafter any person might exercise the calling of a Baker within this City as might think proper, Which Motion was duly seconded by John Kirk, and the roll having been called and votes marked, Seven Members of Trade voted for the Motion and Messrs Robert Duncan and Alexander Kirk voted against it, on the ground that they considered the motion premature, as the Bill for the future regulation of

Corporations had not yet passed into Law. The Meeting therefore Declare the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews to be open to all and Sundry who may choose to exercise the calling of a Baker within the liberties of S^{t} Andrews, on this express understanding that hereafter persons becoming Members of this Trade, whether sons of freemen or neutrals, shall have no connection with, or interest in, the funds presently belonging to this Trade.[1] . . .

[1] This resolution was rescinded, 8th October 1839, by the same number voting for its withdrawal as now voted in its favour. The contention of the minority that the Bill had not passed into law appears to have been well-founded. The measure did not pass until 1846, and when it did it brought to the old trade institutions 'the end of the auld sang.' The Act was a very short one to end a long constitution. 'Whereas in certain Royal and other Burghs (in Scotland) the Members of certain Guilds, Crafts, or Incorporations possess exclusive Privileges of carrying on or dealing in Merchandize, and of carrying on or exercising certain Trades or Handicrafts within their respective Burghs; and such Guilds, Crafts, or Incorporations have corresponding rights, entitling them to prevent Persons not being Members thereof from carrying on or dealing in Merchandize, or from carrying on or exercising such Trades or Handicrafts, within such Burghs: And whereas it has become expedient that such exclusive Privileges and Rights should be abolished: Be it, therefore, enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this Act all such exclusive Privileges and Rights shall cease, and it shall be lawful for any person to carry on or deal in Merchandize, and to carry on or exercise any Trade or Handicraft, in any Burgh and elsewhere *in Scotland*, without being a burgess of such Burgh, or a Guild Brother, or a Member of any Guild, Craft or Incorporation: Provided always, that in lieu of the Stamp Duties of One Pound and Three Pounds now payable on the admission of any Person as a Burgess or into any Corporation or Company in any Burgh *in Scotland*, for the Enrolment, Entry or Memorandum thereof in the Court Books, Roll, or Record of such Corporation or Company, there shall from and after the passing of this Act be paid on every such Admission a Stamp Duty of Five Shillings. II. And it be enacted, That notwithstanding the Abolition of the said exclusive Privileges and Rights all such Incorporations as aforesaid shall retain their Corporate Character, and shall continue to be Incorporations, with the same Names and Titles as heretofore; and nothing herein contained shall anywise affect the Rights and Privileges of such Incorporations, or of the Office Bearers or Members thereof, except as hereinbefore enacted. III. And whereas the Revenues of such Incorporations as aforesaid may in some Instances be affected, and the Number of the Members of such Incorporations may in some Instances diminish, by reason of the Abolition of the said exclusive Privileges and Rights, and it is expedient that Provision should be made for facilitating Arrangements suitable to such Occurrences; be it therefore enacted, That it shall be lawful for every such Incorporation from Time to Time to make all

At S^{t} Andrews, the Twenty first day of July, Eighteen Hundred & Thirty Six years. In a Meeting of the Baker Trade,

Sederunt,

Deacon Fyall	John Fortune
Alexander Kirk	John Kirk
Robert Duncan	John Rodger
W^{m} Hutton	John Trail
Alexander Aikman	Samuel Walker

WHICH DAY, the Trade being met, they unanimously agree to oppose any sale of the Lands belonging to the Seven Trades of this City, until each Trade shall resolve to divide the proceeds arising from such sale into Seven equal parts, each Trade to receive a Seventh part, and empower the Deacon to take such steps as may be necessary to prevent the sale fixed to take place on Monday first, should the whole Trades not agree to the above Resolution. . . .

[9th September 1836.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [John Fyall] & Boxmaster [John Rodger]

John Fortune	Alexander Kirk
Robert Duncan	John Kirk

Bye-Laws, Regulations, and resolutions relative to the Management and Application of its Funds and Property, and relative to the Qualification and Admission of Members, in reference to its altered circumstances under this Act, as may be considered expedient, and to apply to the Court of Session, by summary Petition, for the Sanction of the said Court to such Bye-Laws, Regulations, or Resolutions; and the said Court, after due Intimation of such Application, shall determine upon the same, and upon any Objections that may be made thereto by Parties having Interest, and shall interpone the Sanction of the said Court to such Bye-Laws, Regulations, or Resolutions, or disallow the same in whole or in part, or make thereon such Alterations or adject thereto such Conditions or Qualifications, as the said Court may think fit, and generally shall pronounce such order in the whole Matter as may to the said Court seem just and expedient; and such Bye-Laws, Regulations, or Resolutions, subject to such Alterations and Conditions as aforesaid, shall be, when the Sanction of the said Court shall have been interponed thereto, valid and effectual and binding on such Incorporations; Provided always, that nothing therein contained shall affect the Validity of any Bye-Laws, Regulations, or Resolutions that may be made by any such Incorporation without the Sanction of the said Court, which it would have been heretofore competent for such Incorporation to have made of its own Authority or without such Sanction.'

I, George Kirk, presently Baker, residing in S^{t} Andrews, considering that I am about to leave S^{t} Andrews to reside in London, and also considering that my finances are not in such a state as allow me to pay the necessary expences attendant on my journey thither; And further Considering that the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews, of which I am a Member, have kindly agreed to advance to me the sum of Ten Pounds Sterling in part of the share that may eventually fall to me of the funds of said Baker Trade in a Division thereof, of which sum of Ten pounds now paid me, I do hereby acknowledge the receipt, renouncing all exceptions to the Contrary; Therefore I hereby Declare that the said sum of Ten Pounds Sterling now paid to me shall be credited by me in the Division of said Funds, should the same take place during my lifetime; In Witness whereof this obligation & Minute written on this and the preceding page of the Baker Trades record by Alexander Thomson, Clerk to Charles Grace, City Clerk of S^{t} Andrews, are Subscribed by me at S^{t} Andrews, the Twelfth day of October, Eighteen Hundred and Thirty Six years, Before these Witnesses, the said Alexander Thomson and James Ireland, Vintner, S^{t} Andrews.

George Kirk.

I, Alexander Aikman, presently Baker, residing in S^{t} Andrews, considering that the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews of which I am a Member, have agreed to advance to me the sum of Four Pounds Sterling, in part of the Share of the funds of the said Trade that may eventually fall to me on a Division theroff, of which sum of Four pounds Sterling I do herby acknowledge the receipt, renouncing all exceptions to the Conterary, and I hereby Declare that the said sum of Four Pounds Sterling now paid to me shall be Credited by me on the Division of said funds should the same take place during my life time. In Witnes wherof this Obligation and Minute writen on this page of the Baker Trades record by John Fyall, present Decon of the said Trade, is Subscribed by me, at S^{t} Andrews, the twenty Second Day of February,

Eighteen hundred and thirty seven years, before these Witnesses, Mr Walter Adamson, Vintnr, and Andrew Anderson, Hostler, Both residing in St Andrews.

Alexandr Aikman.

At St Andrews, the Fifteenth day of March, Eighteen Hundred and Thirty Seven Years. In a Meeting of the Baker Trade,

Sederunt,

Deacon Fyall	Samuel Walker
John Niven	John Rodger
Henry Berwick	Robert Duncan
John Kirk	Alexander Aikman
William Hutton	Alexander Kirk
Thomas Pattie	John Fortune

WHICH DAY, the Trade being met, they proceeded to open the offers lodged for the Land belonging to the Trade, and they prefer that made for Mr David Wallace, Kingsbarns, of Ninety Five Pounds Sterling, and the half of the Conveyance and Stamp, The price to be payable on the Disposition being delivered to him; the said David Wallace being entitled to draw the Rent of the Current year and Crop, 1837.

The Meeting unanimously agree that each Member of Trade shall be allowed two sittings or Bottom Rooms of the Seats belonging to the Trade in the Town Church, for the use of themselves and families, and each present widow belonging to the Trade, one Bottom Room.

The Trade unanimously empower the Deacon to sign the Disposition in favor of Mr Gorrie's heir at Law of the Land Purchased by his late Father.

The Meeting empower the Deacon to join with the other Six Deacons in obtaining the opinion of Counsel as to the right of the Trades to dispose on their Lands. . . .

I, Alexander Aikman, Baker, presently in St Andrews, Considering that the Baker Trade of St Andrews on my application, have agreed to pay to me the sum of money

after mentioned in Consideration of my renouncing And giving up all my right, title, share, and Interest as a Member of said Trade, and to the whole property and funds belonging to me as one of the Members of said Incorporation; Therefore I, the said Alexander Aikman, In Consideration of the sum of Fourteen pounds Sterling, instantly advanced and paid to me, by John Fyall, Deacon, and John Rodger, Boxmaster, of said Incorporation, for behoof of themselves and the remanent members of said Baker Trade, and of the sum of Four pounds formerly paid me, together Eighteen pounds Sterling, of which I do hereby acknowledge the receipt, renouncing all exceptions to the contrary, and Discharge the Members of the said Baker Incorporation thereof for ever, Therefore I have RESIGNED, RENOUNCED, and MADE OVER, as I do hereby RESIGN, RENOUNCE, and for ever give over, all right, title, and Interest which I have or might have, or claim, as a Member of said Baker Incorporation, together also with my whole share of the property and funds belonging to said Incorporation of Bakers, to and in favor of the said John Fyall and John Rodger, and the remanent members of said Baker Trade; Declaring that neither I, the said Alexander Aikman, my wife, or children, shall have any benefit, claim, or demand in all time coming hereafter on the Members of said Incorporation, all my right, title, and Interest as a Member thereof, And to the funds and property belonging thereto, or any claim competent to me, my wife, family, heir at Law, or nearest of Kin being hereby now and for ever RESIGNED, RENOUNCED, given up and extinguished; And I hereby oblige myself to grant a regular Conveyance and Resignation on Stamped paper in favor of said Trade to the above effect, when required so to do; Reserving always to me my share and Interest to the funds and properties belonging to the Seven Trades and also the Five Trades which are not hereby renounced. In Witness Whereof this Minute or agreement written on this and the two preceding pages by Alexander Thomson, Clerk to Charles Grace, Clerk to the Seven Trades of S^{t} Andrews, and sub-

scribed by me, the said Alexander Aikman, and John Fyall and John Rodger, at S^{t} Andrews, the Fifteenth day of April, Eighteen Hundred and Thirty Seven years, Before these Witnesses, the said Alexander Thomson and Walter Adamson, Vintner, S^{t} Andrews.

Alexandr Aikman

At S^{t} Andrews, the Twenty fourth day of May, Eighteen Hundred and Thirty Seven years. In a Meeting of the Baker Trade,

Sederunt,

Deacon Fyall	Alexander Kirk
Will^{m} Hutton	Robert Duncan
John Trail	Samuel Walker
John Rodger	John Niven

WHICH DAY, the Meeting considering that as it is in contemplation that the funds of this Corporation are to be divided, they unanimously Resolve that as soon as such Division shall take place, every Member of this Corporation now alive shall receive an equal share thereof, and in the event of any Member dying before such Division shall take place, the share which such Member or Members so dying should have been entitled to shall be payable to his or their heirs, executors, or assignees, in which case, such share payable to such heirs or executors is hereby declared and fixed to be Eighteen pounds, Sterling, being the sum which several members that have already sold out have been paid. . . .

[Renunciation of rights in Incorporation by John Niven residing in Elie. Dated 24th May 1837.]

[8th September 1837.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [John Fyall] & Boxmaster [John Rodger]

Robert Duncan	Alexander Kirk
William Hutton	John Traill

At S^{t} Andrews, the Twenty seventh day of November, Eighteen hundred and thirty seven years, at half past

ten oClock forenoon, In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,
Sederunt,

Deacon Fyall	John Kirk
William Hutton	Alexander Kirk
John Trail	Robert Duncan
John Rodger	Samuel Walker
	John Fortune

WHICH day, the Trade being met, an application was made by Mr John Kirk for Eighteen pounds, in terms of the Resolution of the Trade on the twenty fourth day of May last, which the Members present (with the exception of William Hutton) hereby agree to allow, and they authorise the money to be paid over to Mr Kirk accordingly. . . .

[Renunciation by John Kirk, residing at Comerton Cottage. Dated 27th November, 1837.]

At S^{t} Andrews, the Tenth day of March, Eighteen hundred and thirty eight years. In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,
Sederunt,

Deacon Fyall	John Rodger
Samuel Walker	Alexander Kirk
John Trail	Robert Duncan

WHICH day, the Trade being met, an Offer was made on the part of M^{r} Thomas Motion, residing in London, to Renounce his right, interest, and privileges in the Trade for the Sum of Eighteen Pounds—Which the Members present accept of and authorise the money to be paid over to him accordingly on his granting the necessary Renunciation.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Eighth day of June, Eighteen hundred and thirty eight years. In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,
Sederunt,

Mess^{rs} John Fyall	Alexander Kirk
Robert Duncan	John Trail

John Rodger William Hutton
John Fortune

WHICH day, the Trade having met to Consider the propriety of building a New Dam Dyke at New Mill in place of the former one which had been run out, and Estimates for executing the work having been produced from Messrs John Kennedy and John McIntosh, Builders, St Andrews, it was moved by Deacon Fyall and seconded by Mr John Rodger, that a new Dam Dyke should be built with as little delay as possible, according to plans and specifications in the hands of the Trade; and the Roll having been called and votes marked, five members voted for the motion and two against it. The Trade, therefore, resolve, in terms of the motion and select and accept of the Estimate lodged by Mr Kennedy, amounting to Ninty Six pounds, ten Shillings, Sterling.

[14th September 1838.]

Nomina Concillii.

Deacon [John Fyall] & Boxmaster [John Rodger]
William Hutton Alexander Kirk
Robert Duncan John Trail
A. T.

At St Andrews, the First day of November, Eighteen hundred and thirty eight years, In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of St Andrews,

Present,

Mr John Fyall, Deacon Mr Alexander Kirk
Mr Robert Duncan Mr John Trail
Mr William Hutton

WHICH DAY, the Trade being met, the Deacon laid before the Meeting a Letter received by him from Robert Swinton, Baker in London, a Member of the Trade, as to his interest therein, and the same having been considered and reference made to a Minute of Meeting held on 7 September, 1809, it was unanimously resolved that Mr Wallace be instructed to acknowledge the receipt of the letter and to

State in answer that Mr Swinton is incorrect in supposing that the Trade agreed to look merely to his Cautioner for the Debt due by him, amounting to Thirteen pounds, fourteen shillings, exclusive of Interest, but that if he was desirous of relinquishing his right and privileges as a Member of the Trade, he would receive Eighteen pounds in consideration thereof, on his executing a regular renunciation and allowing deduction of the foresaid sum due by him. . . .

At St Andrews, the Ninth day of November, Eighteen hundred and thirty eight years; In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of St Andrews,

Present,

Mr John Fyall, Deacon — Mr Alexander Kirk
Mr John Rodger, Boxmaster — Mr John Traill
Mr Robert Duncan

WHICH DAY, the Trade being met in consequence of part of the Bank a little above the New Dam Dyke at Law-mill having been carried away by the late Rains, and having visited and inspected the Gap made in the Bank, and met with Mr. John Kennedy, the Contractor for Building the Dam Dyke, resolve to bear three fourths of the expence of Building up the Gap in a substantial and satisfactory manner,—Mr. Kennedy agreeing on the other hand to be at the other fourth part of the expence; but in coming to this Resolution the Trade are of opinion that they are not absolutely bound to bear any part of the expence, seeing that it appears to them that it might have been possible for the Contractor, although certainly at some expence to himself, to have avoided diverting the Water into a Channel in Building the Dyke, by which damage has been occasioned, but while they entertain this opinion, they are desirous of adjusting the matter amicably with the Contractor, and of not throwing on him a loss which perhaps he did [not] contemplate in making up his Estimate, and in proceeding with the operations.[1] . . .

[1] Serious as was the damage done at the mill by the floods, it was not so great as that inflicted on the mills on the Water of Leith, on 1st September

At S^{t} Andrews, the fifteenth day of December, Eighteen hundred and thirty eight years. In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,

Present,

M^{r} John Fyall, Deacon
M^{r} John Rodger, Boxmaster
Mess^{rs} Robert Duncan
Alexander Kirk
William Hutton
John Trail

WHICH day the Trade met, and taking into Consideration the necessity of providing funds for defraying the expense of building the new dam dyke at Lawmill and the additional expense of building up the gap referred to in the previous minute, they unanimously resolve that the sum necessary for that purpose shall be borrowed by the Deacon and Boxmaster for behoof of the Trade, and power is hereby given to them for that purpose accordingly.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Eighth day of July, Eighteen hundred and thirty nine years, In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,

Present,

M^{r} John Fyall, Deacon
M^{r} John Rodger, Boxmaster
M^{r} Robert Duncan
M^{r} Alexander Kirk
M^{r} William Hutton
M^{r} John Trail
M^{r} Samuel Walker

1659, after the imposition on ale that set up the price a penny per pint, of which Nicoll says quaintly, 'yet this imposition seemed not to thrive, for at same instant God frae the heavens declared His anger by sending thunder and unheard of tempests, and storms, and inundations of water whilk destroyed their common mills, dams, and warks, to the towns great chairges and expenses. Eleven mills belonging to Edinburgh, and five belonging to Heriot's Hospital, all upon the Water of Leith, were destroyed on this occasion, with their dams, water-gangs, timber-graith, and haill other warks.'

WHICH day, the Trade being met, Mr George Kirk stated to the meeting that he was willing to execute a renunciation of his rights, privileges, and interest as a Member of the Trade and to assign the Trade thereinto on receiving Eight pounds in addition to the Ten pounds paid to him on the 12th of October, 1836, and to which proposal the Trade hereby agree, and authorise the Boxmaster to pay the said sum of Eight pounds accordingly. . . .

[Renunciation by George Kirk, baker, residing at Acton Green Cottage, near London, presently in St. Andrews, in consideration of the sum of £10, paid him on 12th October 1836, and of £8 on the date of renunciation, namely 8th July 1839.]

[13th September 1839.]

Nomina Concillii.

Deacon [John Fyall] & Boxmaster [John Rodger]

Robert Duncan	William Hutton
John Trail	Alexander Kirk

At St Andrews, the Eighth day of October, Eighteen hundred and thirty nine, In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of St Andrews,

Present,

Mr John Rodger, Boxmaster
Mr Robert Duncan
Mr Alexander Kirk
Mr William Hutton
Mr. John Fortune
Mr John Fyall, Deacon
Mr John Trail
Mr Samuel Walker

The Trade having met, Mr Robert Duncan moved that taking into consideration that on the Second day of July, Eighteen hundred and thirty six, a Declaration was entered on the Minutes that the Trade should be open to all and Sundry who might choose to exercise the calling of a Baker within the liberties of St Andrews, on the understanding that

after that date persons becoming Members, whether Sons of Freemen or Neutrals, should have no Connection or interest in the funds then belonging to the Trade, and farther taking into consideration that this Declaration was Recorded in opposition to the wishes of several of the Members—that it has not in any way been acted on or given effect to, and that the power of altering the rights and privileges of the Trade is rested solely in the Legislature—that the Meeting do now rescind the said Declaration, which motion was duly seconded by Alexander Kirk ; and the Roll having been called and votes marked, Seven Members voted for the motion and Mr John Fyall declined voting, The Meeting therefore resolve in terms of the motion and appoint this Resolution to be published in the Fifeshire Journal and Fife Herald, and on the doors of the parish Church of St Andrews.

At St Andrews, the Eleventh day of May, Eighteen hundred and forty.

In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of St Andrews, Present,

Mr John Rodger, Boxmaster
Mr Robert Duncan
Mr Alexander Kirk
Mr William Hutton
Mr John Fortune
Mr John Trail

Mr John Rodger, Preses.

Which day, Mr Thomas Wallace, Writer, stated to the Meeting that in Consequence of the verbal instructions received by him he had applied to Mr John Meldrum, presently carrying on business as a Baker in this City, requiring him to enter to the freedom and liberties of the Incorporation, but that he had positively refused to do so, and the Meeting having taken this statement into consideration, unanimously resolve that a Petition shall be immediately presented to the Sheriff of the County, craving an Interdict at the instance of the Trade against Mr Meldrum Carrying on and exercising

the liberties of the Trade until he enters as a Member of the Incorporation.

Signed in name, presence, and by Appointment of the Meeting By
John Rodger, BoxM and preses.

[11th September 1840.]

Nomina Concillii.

Deacon [Samuel Walker] & Boxmaster [John Rodger]

Robert Duncan — William Hutton
John Trail — Alexr Kirk

AB

At St Andrews, the Sixteenth day of July, Eighteen hundred and forty years, at three oclock afternoon.[1]
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of St Andrews,
Sederunt,

Mr John Fyall
Mr Alexander Kirk
Mr Robert Duncan
Mr Samuel Walker
Mr John Rodger
Mr John Fortune
Mr William Hutton
Mr John Trail

WHICH day, the Trade taking into consideration the Application made by Mr Robert Ovenstone, Baker, lately residing in Pittenweem, & now in St Andrews, to be allowed to carry on the calling & business of a Baker within the Burgh, they unanimously agree to allow and hereby authorise him, from this date, to carry on said business, upon his paying the sum of twelve pounds, ten shillings, Sterling, to the Incorporation for behoof thereof, being the half of the entry money required by the laws of said Incorporation to constitute a regular Member thereof. But it is hereby expressly provided and declared that the said

[1] Date of this entry is 16th July; the date of the preceding entry is 11th September.

Robert Ovenstone shall not in consequence of said permission have any right, title to, interest or share in the property and funds of said Incorporation, neither shall he have any claim or demand thereupon in any manner of way,— nor shall he be entitled to attend, vote at, or take any part or share in, any of the Meetings of said Incorporation, until he shall have paid the remaining half of said entry money, with the legal interest thereof, from this date till paid, to said Incorporation, for behoof foresaid, and upon his doing so, the Trade hereby bind and oblige themselves & their successors to receive the said Robert Ovenstone and his Successors as Members of said Trade, and to confer upon them all the privileges and immunities thereof, And it is farther provided and declared that in the event of the death of the said Robert Ovenstone or his discontinuing to carry on business in the Burgh as foresaid before he shall have paid the remaining half of said entry money, hereby stipulated for, then and in that case, neither he, nor his heirs, nor successors, shall be entitled to demand or ask repetition of the sum already paid nor have any claim whatever against said Incorporation, nor shall they be entitled to become members thereof by payment of the remaining half of said entry money foresaid, and both parties hereby bind & oblige themselves & their successors to abide by and implement the foresaid conditions and provisions.

. . .

At S^{t} Andrews, the twenty second day of October, Eighteen hundred and forty years. In a meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,

Sederunt,

Deacon Walker
Alexander Kirk
Thomas Smith
John Trail
Alexander Thomson
John Rodger
William Hutton

WHICH day, the Trade being met, an Application was made by M^{r} Alexander Thomson, residing in Dundee, for Eighteen Pounds in terms of the Resolution of the Trade on

the Twenty fourth day of May, Eighteen hundred and thirty six,[1] Which the members present hereby Agree to allow, and they authorise the money to be paid over to Mr Thomson accordingly. . . .

[Renunciation by Alexander Thomson, residing in Dundee. Dated 22nd October 1840.]

At St Andrews, the seventeenth day of April, Eighteen hundred & forty one years. In a meeting of the Baker Trade of St Andrews,
Sederunt,
Deacon Walker
Messrs John Rodger John Traill
Robert Duncan William Hutton
Thomas Smith

Which day, the Trade being met, an application was made by Mr William Hutton, residing in St Andrews, for Eighteen pounds in terms of the Resolution of the Trade on the twenty fourth day of May, Eighteen hundred and thirty six,[1] which the Members present hereby agree to allow, and they authorise the money to be paid over to Mr Hutton accordingly. . . .

[Renunciation by William Hutton. Signed 19th April 1841, and witnessed by John Hill and William Woodcock, clerks to Thomas Wallace, writer, St. Andrews.]

At St Andrews, the Twenty ninth day of May, Eighteen hundred and forty one, In a meeting of the Baker Incorporation of St Andrews,
Present,
Messrs Samuel Walker, Deacon
John Rodger
Robert Duncan
Thomas Smith
John Fortune
Alexander Kirk

[1] Six—mistake for seven; *vide* minute.

John Fortune[1]
John Trail

WHICH DAY, the Deacon, Boxmaster, and remanent Members of the Said Incorporation being met and Convened, and taking into Consideration that Mr David Craig, Junior, presently residing in St Andrews, has made application to be admitted and received as a Member of the said Incorporation, they unanimously admitted and received the said David Craig and do hereby unanimously admit and receive him as a member accordingly, into the hail freedom, liberties, and privileges of this Trade as a member thereof, upon the distinct understanding and Agreement that he is to advance and pay to the Deacon and Boxmaster for behoof of the Said Incorporation, the Sum of ten pounds sterling on his entry, and that he is to grant Bill for the remaining fifteen pounds with a sufficient Caution, payable at one days date: and it is hereby specially provided and declared that if he Shall fail to retire said Bill when the same falls due, then and in that case, he shall forfeit and lose all title to or interest in the funds and other privileges and immunities of Said Incorporation: All dues of Trade being paid and he made faith as use is: The Extract of the admission of the said David Craig being written on Stamped paper, denoting a duty of one pound, and lodged in the Trades Box for the inspection of the Inspector of Stamps in terms of the act of Parliament.

At St Andrews, the Second day of June, Eighteen hundred & forty one years. In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of St Andrews,
Sederunt,
Messrs Samuel Walker
John Rodger
Robert Duncan
Thomas Smith
Alexander Kirk
John Trail

[1] This name is repeated in the MS.

Which day, the Trade being met, an application was made by Mr Henry Berwick, residing in St Andrews, for Eighteen Pounds, in terms of the Resolution of the Trade on the Twenty fourth day of May, Eighteen hundred & thirty six,[1] which the Members present hereby agree to allow, & they authorise the Money to be paid over to Mr Berwick accordingly. . . .

[Renunciation by Henry Berwick. 2nd June 1841.]

[10th September 1841.]

Nomina Concillii.

Deacon [Samuel Walker] & Boxmaster [John Rodger]

Robert Duncan	David Craig
Alexander Kirk	Thomas Smith

AB.

At St Andrews, the Second day of December, Eighteen hundred and forty one years, In a meeting of the Baker Trade of St Andrews,

Present,

Messrs Samuel Walker, Deacon

Alexander Kirk	John Trail
Robert Duncan	David Craig
John Rodger	John Fortune

Mr Walker in the Chair.

WHICH DAY, the Deacon, Boxmaster, and remanent members of Said Incorporation being met and Convened, & taking into consideration that Mr Andrew Bonthron, presently residing in St Andrews, has made application to be admitted & received as a member of the Said Incorporation, they unanimously admitted and received the said Andrew Bonthrone, And do hereby unanimously admit and receive him as a member accordingly, into the haill freedom, liberties, and privileges of Said Trade upon payment of the Sum of Twenty five pounds sterling—Twelve pounds, ten shillings of which being presently advanced and paid by him, of which the

[1] Seven.

Deacon as representing the Incorporation hereby Acknowledges the receipt, And it is hereby declared that the said Andrew Bonthron shall grant Bill for the remaining sum of twelve pounds, ten shillings, sterling, to the Deacon and Boxmaster of Said Trade, payable one day after date, and if the said Andrew Bontrne shall fail to pay said Bill when the Same shall be presented for payment, then and in that case, the heirs & Successors or representatives of the said Andrew Bonthron shall have no interest in nor Claim against the said Trade, nor shall they be entitled to ask or demand repetition of the Sum presently paid. All dues of the Trade being paid, and the said Andrew Bonthron having made faith as use is, The Extract of his Admission being written on stamped paper denoting a duty of one pound & lodged in the Trades Box for the inspection of the Inspector of Stamps in terms of the Act of Parliament.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Eighth day of September, Eighteen hundred and forty two years.
In a Meeting of The Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,
Present,

M^{r} Samuel Walker, Deacon
M^{r} John Rodger, Box Master
M^{r} Robert Duncan
M^{r} Alexander Kirk
M^{r} Andrew Bonthrone
M^{r} Thomas Smith
M^{r} David Craig
M^{r} John Traill

M^{r} Walker in the Chair.

Which day, M^{r} John Connacher, Junior, Coal Merchant, S^{t} Andrews, offered the Trade Two pounds annually in name of rent for a Twelve years Lease of the Coal yard and Coal Shed, belonging to the Trade & situated at Abbey Mill, The Lease to commence at Martinmas first, and the rent to be payable annually at Martinmas, of which offer the Trade hereby accept. M^{r} John Connacher was named as Cautioner,

and approved off, & the Meeting authorise a Tack to be drawn out & signed by the Deacon & box Master in name of the Trade.

[Here follows the lease embodying the agreement.]

[10th September 1842.]

Nomina Concillii.

Deacon [Samuel Walker] & Boxmaster [John Rodger], David Craig, Alexander Kirk, And^{w} Bonthrone, Robert Duncan.

[8th September 1843.]

Deacon [Thomas Smith] & Boxmaster [John Rodger], M^{r} And. Bonthrone, M^{r} David Craig, M^{r} Alex: Kirk, & M^{r} Robert Duncan.

[13th September 1844.]

Nomina Concillii.

Deacon [Thomas Smith] & Boxmaster [John Rodger], M^{r} Aw. Bonthrone, M^{r} Dav: Craig, M^{r} Alex: Kirk, & M^{r} Robert Duncan.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Thirty first day of May, Eighteen hundred and forty five years; In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,

Sederunt,

M^{r} Thomas Smith, Deacon
M^{r} John Rodger, Boxmaster
M^{r} Alexander Kirk
M^{r} John Trail
M^{r} David Craig
M^{r} Samuel Walker
M^{r} Andrew Bonthrone
M^{r} John Fortune
M^{r} Robert Duncan

Which day, the Trade being convened, Benjamin Philp, Baker in S^{t} Andrews, was admitted and received into the haill freedom, liberties, and privileges of the Baker Trade, as

a Member thereof, on payment of Twelve pounds, ten shillings, Sterling, of entry money payable by a Neutral, and the other dues of Trade, he being married to the daughter of a Freeman; having made faith as use is, and to serve as officer for a year.

Simpson Philp, Clerk.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Seventeenth day of June, Eighteen hundred and forty five years, In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,

Sederunt,

M^{r} Thomas Smith, Deacon
M^{r} John Rodger, Boxmaster
M^{r} Robert Duncan — M^{r} Samuel Walker
M^{r} David Craig — M^{r} Benjamin Philp
M^{r} John Traill — Alexander Kirk

The Members of Trade being convened, they proceeded to take into their consideration the fees presently paid upon the admission of Members, when it was unanimously enacted and declared that the following shall hereafter be the fees payable by individuals who are desirous of becoming Members of Trade, viz^{t} (1) That a Neutral will be admitted to the liberty and freedom of said Trade upon payment of Twenty five pounds Sterling and the other dues of Trade. (2) That a Freeman's Son will be admitted to said liberty and freedom upon payment of Three pounds and other dues. (3) That a Neutral, married to the daughter of a freeman, will be admitted to the liberty and freedom of said Trade upon payment of Twelve pounds ten shillings, being the one half of the entry money payable by a Neutral, and the other dues of Trade. It being hereby expressly provided and declared that the period of ten years must elapse from the date of such admission before any Member can sell out or have any other demands upon the funds of said Trade. The Trade hereby rescind all former Minutes which relate to the fees on admission of Members, and resolve that for the time being no other fees shall be exacted than those which are above specified.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Eighteenth day of June, Eighteen hundred and forty five years, In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,

Sederunt,

M^{r} Thomas Smith, Deacon
M^{r} John Rodger, Boxmaster
M^{r} Samuel Walker M^{r} B. Philp
M^{r} Robert Duncan
M^{r} John Fortune
M^{r} Alexander Kirk
M^{r} John Trail

Which day, the Trade being met, an application was made by M^{r} John Fyall, sometime Baker in S^{t} Andrews, now residing in Dundee, for the sum of Eighteen pounds Sterling, in Terms of the Resolution of the Trade on the Twenty fourth day of May, Eighteen hundred and thirty six,[1] which Sum the Members present hereby agree to allow, and they authorise the Boxmaster to pay over the money to M^{r} Fyall accordingly.

[Renunciation by John Fyall, sometime baker in S^{t} Andrews, now residing in Dundee. Dated 18th day of June 1845.]

Nomina Concillii.

Deacon [Thomas Smith] & Boxmaster [John Rodger], And^{w} Bonthrone, David Craig, M^{r} Alex^{r} Kirk, & Robert Duncan.

[11th September 1846.]

Nomina Concillii.

Deacon [Thomas Smith] & Boxmaster [John Rodger], And^{w} Bonthrone, David Craig, M^{r} Alex^{r} Kirk, and Robert Duncan.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Seventh day of October, Eighteen hundred and forty six years, In a Meeting of the Baker Incorporation of S^{t} Andrews,

Present,

[1] Seven.

Thomas Smith, Deacon
John Trail
Samuel Walker
Benjamin Philp
John Rodger
Alexander Kirk
David Craig
Andrew Bonthrone
John Fortune

Mr Philp moved, seconded by Mr Rodger, that a special meeting of the Trade be held on Saturday first, the 10 Current, at 7 o clock, for the purpose of considering the propriety of disposing of the Mill, and other properties belonging to the Trade. . . .

At St Andrews, the Tenth day of October, Eighteen hundred and forty six years, In a Meeting of the Baker Incorporation of St Andrews,

Deacon Smith

John Rodger	John Trail
Robert Duncan	Thomas Pattie
Andrew Bonthrone	Alex. Kirk
John Fortune	Samuel Walker
Benjamin Philp	David Craig

Which day, the Trade being met for the special purpose of considering the propriety of Selling the Mill and other properties belonging to the Trade, unanimously determine not to dispose of these properties in the meantime.

At St Andrews, the Twenty fifth day of May, Eighteen hundred and forty seven years, In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of St Andrews,

Present,

Mr Smith, Deacon	Mr Rodger, Boxmaker [sic]
Mr Philp	Mr Fortune
Mr Walker	Mr Craig
Mr Trail	Mr Kirk
Mr Duncan	

Which day, the Trade being met, certain specifications relative to the erection of a Steam Engine were laid before the meeting, and also the following estimates for the completion of the Work, which were accepted unanimously.

Messrs Gourlay, Mudie & Co., Dundee, for erecting and starting a Condensing Steam Engine[1] of ten horse power, including the necessary driving Macheniry, &c. £361 ,, 10 ,, -.

John Keddie & Sons, for Wright, Plaster, Slater, and Plumber Work, £62 ,, 12/-

William Drummond for Mason Work, £98 ,, 13 ,, 3.

Messrs Drummond & Keddie being present at the Meeting stated that they would finish the whole Work for which they had estimated in Thirteen Weeks from this date.

The Meeting authorise the Deacon & Boxmaster to grant Bill to the Contractors for the sums estimated by them.

At St Andrews, the Tenth day of August, Eighteen hundred and forty seven years; In a Meeting of the Incorporation of Bakers,

Present,

Mr Thomas Smith, Deacon
Mr John Rodger, Boxmaster
Mr David Craig
Mr Benjamin Philp
Mr Alexander Kirk

The meeting understanding that their application to the Clydesdale Bank for a Cash Account to the extent of Six hundred pounds had been granted, hereby authorise the said account to be opened in name of the Trade, and empower Mr

[1] The use of steam in flour milling was one of the applications that secured the early attention of James Watt, but it was in the direction of pumping water with a steam engine to ensure a regular and plentiful supply of water-power. This use was recommended by John Smeaton to the Commissioners of the Victualling Office, to whom he wrote on 23rd November 1781, pointing out the serious effects on wheat-grinding if an occasional stoppage of the engine took place. The first direct installation of steam was at the Albion Mills, London, in 1784, and in 1795 after the mills had been destroyed by fire, the *Encyclopædia Britannica* stated, 'Mills may be moved by the force of steam, as were the Albion Mills in London; but the expense of fuel must undoubtedly prevent this mode of corn-grinding from ever becoming popular.'

Rodger, the Boxmaster, to operate upon the same; whose cheques for all sums drawn therefrom shall be binding upon this Incorporation. The Meeting also authorise Mr Smith, the Deacon, and Mr Rodger, the Boxmaster, to subscribe the Bill to be granted for the said Sum.[1]

The Meeting taking into consideration that Mr Balfour has called upon the Trade to pay up the sum borrowed from him, authorise the Boxmaster to pay the same from the Sum at their credit with the Clydesdale Bank.

[11th September 1847.]

Nomina Concillii.

Deacon [David Craig] & Boxmaster [John Rodger], Mr Philp, Mr Kirk, Mr James Duncan, Mr James Traill, Mr Smith.

At St Andrews, the Twenty fourth day of April, Eighteen hundred and forty nine years,

In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of St Andrews,

Sederunt,

Mr David Craig, Deacon
Mr John Rodger, Boxmaster
Mr R. Duncan — Mr A. Kirk
Mr B. Philp — Mr Thos Smith
Mr Samuel Walker — Mr John Fortune

Which day, the Trade being met, an application was made by Mr Andrew Bonthrone, sometime Baker here, and who is now about to go abroad, for the sum of Eighteen pounds Sterling, in terms of the Resolution of the Trade on the Twenty fourth day of May, Eighteen hundred and thirty seven, Which sum the Members present hereby agree to allow, and they authorise the Boxmaster to pay over the money to Mr Bonthrone accordingly. . . .

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[1] The Branch of the Clydesdale Bank could not have been very long established, for the Bank of Scotland had for a long time enjoyed the field to itself. The cash credit for six hundred pounds was signed by the Deacon and Boxmaster in name of the Incorporation and each member was responsible for its repayment. It is curious that there is no earlier record of the application, or even of any decision of the members to apply for the convenience. Neither is there any record of the loan from Mr Balfour.

[Act of Renunciation by Andrew Bonthrone, written by William Woodcock, writer, St. Andrews, and witnessed by him and James Rolland, Sadler. Dated 24th April, 1849.]

At S^{t} Andrews, the fifth day of May, Eighteen hundred & fifty years,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,
Present,
M^{r} David Craig, Deacon
M^{r} John Rodger, Boxmaster
M^{r} Alex. Kirk
M^{r} John Fortune
M^{r} Thomas Smith
M^{r} James Duncan
M^{r} Benjamin Philp
M^{r} Samuel Walker

Which day, the Trade being met, an application was made by M^{r} Thomas Pattie, sometime Baker here, for the sum of Eighteen Pounds, Sterling, in terms of the Resolution of the Trade on twenty fourth May, Eighteen hundred & thirty seven, Which Sum the Members present hereby agree to allow, & they authorise the Boxmaster to pay over the money to M^{r} Pattie accordingly. . . .

[Renunciation by Thomas Pattie. Dated 5th May, 1850, and witnessed by William Morris and James Greive.]

St Andrews, 16th Sept., 1850.

Which day the trade met, & appointed Mr. David Craig, Baker, St Andrews, to attend the meetings of the Parochial Board of the Parish of St Andrews, & to act & vote for the trade as he shall think proper, & further direct that his name shall be entered in the Books of the said Board, for said Baker trade.[1]

James Duncan,
Clk.

[1] This is the only reference to the representation of the Trade on the Parochial Board. The change in the Poor Law was effected in 1845.

St Andrews, the tuentieth day of May, Eighteen hundred and fifty one years,

In a Meeting of the Baker trade of St Andrews,

Sederunt,

Mr. Beng^{n} Philp, Deacon
Mr. Alex. Kirk
Mr. Thomas Smith
Mr. James Trail
Mr. James Duncan
Mr. Da^{d} Graig [sic]
Mr. Samuel Walker
Mr. John Fortune

Which day, the trade being met, took into consideration the debt due by Mr. Rodger of the sum Thirty Pounds, ten shillings, and five pence, three farthings. The trade unanimously agreed to grant Bill at Four Months for said amount, & autherizes Mr. Beng^{m} Philp, Deacon, and Mr. David Craig to see the same executed.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Twenty ninth day of January, Eighteen hundred & fifty two years,

In A Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,

Sederunt,

M^{r} Benjamin Philp, Deacon
M^{r} Thomas Smith — M^{r} Ja^{s} Trail
M^{r} Alex^{r} Kirk — M^{r} John Rodger
M^{r} John Trail

Which day, the Trade being met, an application was made by M^{r} John Rodger, sometime Baker here, for the sum of Eighteen Pounds Sterling in terms of the resolution of the Trade on the Twenty fourth day of May, Eighteen hundred & thirty seven, which sum the Members present hereby agree to allow, & they authorise the Boxmaster to pay over the Money to M^{r} John Rodger accordingly. . . .

[Renunciation by John Rodger. Dated 31st January, 1852.]

St Andrews, the Twenty third day of August, one thousand eight hundred and fifty two years,
In a meeting of the Baker Trade of St Andrews,
Sederunt,

Mr Benjamin Philp, Decon
Mr James Duncan
Mr Thomas Smith
Mr John Fortune
Mr John Trail

Which day, the Trade being met, a letter was read from Alexr Kirk, Junr, applying to be admitted a Member of the Trade, the following being a copy "To the Baker Trade Gentlemen I hereby make application to be admitted a member of your Incorparation. Hoping you will do me the honour

Yours &c. Alexr Kirk

The above application was unanimously agreed to. And appointed to meet on wednesday first for said purpose.

[10th September 1852.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [Benjamin Philp] & Boxmaster [James Duncan], Mr Tho. Smith, Mr A. Kirk, Sr, Mr John Fortune.

At St Andrews, the First day of September, Eighteen hundred and fifty three years, In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of St Andrews,
Sederunt,

Mr Benjamin Philp, Deacon
Mr James Duncan, Boxr
Mr Thomas Smith — Mr John Trail
Mr Samuel Walker — Mr Alexr Kirk, Senr
Mr James Trail — Mr Alexr Kirk, Jun.

The Meeting having been informed by Mr Walker, Agent for the Clydesdale Bank here, that the Bill for Six hundred pounds, granted by the Trade on tenth August, 1849, for Cash Account, was due, ordered the same to be paid.

The Meeting further authorised & hereby authorise Mr Benjamin Philp, Deacon, and Mr James Duncan, Boxmaster,

to grant a Bill for the sum of Eight hundred pounds, to the Manager of the Clydesdale Bank, on the Trades account.

[9th September 1853.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [Benjamin Philp] & Boxmaster [James Duncan], Mr Smith, Mr Kirk, Ser, Mr Fortune.

At St Andrews, the fifteenth day of March, Eighteen hundred & fifty four Years,
At a Meeting of the Trade,
Sederunt,

Mr Alexander Kirk, Chn
Mr Thomas Smith
Mr Benjn Philp
Mr John Trail

The Meeting accepted the Offer of Mr David Kidd for the old dressing Mill, being Five Pounds.

At St Andrews, the Eighteenth day of May, Eighteen hundred and fifty four years, In a Meeting of the Trade, Sederunt,

Mr Thomas Smith
Mr John Fortune — Mr John Trail
Mr Samuel Walker — Mr Al. Kirk, Sen.
Mr James Duncan

Mr A. Kirk was called to the Chair in the absence of the Deacon.

The Meeting authorized, & hereby authorise, Mr Alexander Kirk, Senior, & Mr Thomas Smith to operate on the Bank account & to draw therefrom what sums they may find necessary for the purposes of the Trade.

The Meeting authorised, and hereby authorise, the above named Mr Alexander Kirk, Senior, & Mr Thomas Smith to draw from the Western Bank of Scotland,[1] St Andrews, the sum of Thirty Pounds sterling, to assist in paying the Interest, &c., due by the Trade at this date.

[1] The Western Bank failed in 1857.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Sixteenth day of August, Eighteen hundred and fifty four,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade,
Sederunt,

M^{r} Alexander Kirk, Sen^{r}
M^{r} Thomas Smith
M^{r} Walker
M^{r} John Trail
M^{r} James Trail

M^{r} Kirk was called to the Chair.

The Meeting authorized, & hereby authorise the above named M^{r} Alex. Kirk, Sen^{r}, and M^{r} Thomas Smith, to draw from the Bank of Scotland the sum of Thirty Pounds sterling to retire the Bill falling due at the Western Bank.

[8th September 1854.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [Thomas Smith] & Boxmaster [James Duncan], M^{r} Alexander Kirk, Senior, M^{r} John Fortune.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Twenty first day of November, Eighteen hundred and fifty four years,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,
Sederunt,

M^{r} Thomas Smith, Deacon
M^{r} Alexander Kirk, Sen^{r}
M^{r} Samuel Walker
M^{r} James Duncan

M^{r} Thomas Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting authorized, & hereby authorize, the above named M^{r} Thomas Smith & M^{r} James Duncan, the Boxmaster, to draw from the Western Bank of Scotland the sum of Thirty pounds Sterling to retire the Bill falling due at the Bank of Scotland.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Thirteenth day of February, Eighteen hundred & fifty five years,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,

Sederunt,

Mr Thomas Smith, Deacon
Mr Alexander Kirk, Senior
Mr Samuel Walker
Mr Thomas Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting authorised, & hereby authorise, the above named Mr Thomas Smith & Mr Alexander Kirk, Senior, to draw from the Bank of Scotland the sum of Thirty pounds Sterling to retire the Bill falling due at the Western Bank.

At St Andrews, the Sixth day of April, Eighteen hundred & fifty five, In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of St Andrews,

Present,

Mr Thomas Smith, Deacon
Mr Alexander Kirk
Mr John Trail
Mr John Fortune
Mr Samuel Walker
Mr James Trail

WHICH DAY, the Trade being met, an application was made by Samuel Walker, sometime Baker, St Andrews, for the sum of Eighteen Pounds Sterling, in terms of the resolution of the Trade of 24th May, 1837, which sum the members present, in the particular circumstances, hereby agree to allow, and they authorise the Boxmaster to pay over the money to Samuel Walker accordingly.

The Meeting also proceeded to take into consideration the fees presently paid upon the admission of members, when it was unanimously stated and declared that neutrals shall be admitted to the liberty & freedom of said Trade upon payment of Eighteen Pounds Sterling & the other dues of Trade, provided always that those neutrals shall be approved of at a Meeting of the Trade called for the purpose of Considering their application, as parties likely to give employment to the Mill.

Thereafter an application was made by Mr. James Ireland, Baker, Argyle, to be admitted a Member of the Trade

for payment of the sum of Eighteen Pounds Sterling; which was unanimously agreed to and a Meeting was appointed to be held on Monday first at Eight o'clock for his admission.

[Renunciation by Samuel Walker. Dated 6th April, 1855. Witnessed by William Woodcock and David Stevenson Ireland, Brewer.]

At S^{t} Andrews, the Ninth day of April, Eighteen hundred & fifty five years,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews, Sederunt,
M^{r} Tho^{s} Smith, Deacon
M^{r} Ja^{s} Duncan, Boxmaster
M^{r} B. Philp M^{r} Alex. Kirk M^{r} John Fortune
M^{r} John Trail M^{r} James Trail

Which day, the Trade being convened, James Ireland, Baker, Argyle, S^{t} Andrews, was admitted & received into the haill freedom, liberties, and privileges of the trade as a Member thereof, all dues of trade being paid & he made faith as use is & to serve as officer In a Year.[1]

Thomas Smith, D.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Twenty Sixth day of May, Eighteen hundred & fifty five,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews, Sederunt,
M^{r} Tho^{s} Smith, Deacon M^{r} James Duncan
M^{r} Alex. Kirk, Sen^{r} M^{r} John Trail
M^{r} Thomas Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting hereby authorise the above named M^{r} Thomas Smith & M^{r} James Duncan to draw from the Edinburgh & Glasgow Bank, S^{t} Andrews, the sum of Fifty pounds Stg., to retire the Bill falling due at the Bank of Scotland & to pay one quarters feu duty.

[1] Ireland was the last of the long roll of members admitted to the freedom of the trade.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Thirty first day of August, Eighteen hundred and fifty five,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews, Sederunt,
M^{r} Thomas Smith, Deacon
M^{r} John Trail
M^{r} James Ireland
M^{r} Thomas Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting hereby authorise M^{r} Thomas Smith & M^{r} Alexander Kirk, Sen^{r}, to draw from the Bank of Scotland the sum of Fifty pounds Sterling to retire the Bill falling due at the Edinburgh & Glasgow Bank.

[14th September 1855.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [Thomas Smith] & Boxmaster [James Ireland], M^{r} Alexander Kirk, Senior, M^{r} James Duncan, & M^{r} John Fortune.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Twenty first day of November, Eighteen hundred & fifty five years,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews, Sederunt,
M^{r} Thomas Smith, Deacon
M^{r} Alexander Kirk
M^{r} James Ireland
M^{r} Thomas Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting hereby authorise M^{r} Thomas Smith & M^{r} Alexander Kirk, Sen^{r}, to draw from the Western Bank the sum of Fifty pounds Stg. to retire the Bill falling due at the Bank of Scotland.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Twenty ninth day of February, Eighteen hundred & fifty six years,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews, Sederunt,
M^{r} Thomas Smith, Deacon
M^{r} Alex. Kirk

Mr James Ireland
Mr Thos Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting hereby authorise Mr Thomas Smith & Mr Alexr Kirk to draw from the Bank of Scotland the sum of Forty pounds Stg. to assist in retiring the Bill falling due at the Western Bank.

At St Andrews, the Sixth day of June, Eighteen hundred & fifty six years,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of St Andrews,
Sederunt,
Mr Thomas Smith, Deacon
Mr Alexander Kirk
Mr Thomas Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting authorise Mr Alex. Kirk & Mr Thomas Smith to draw from the Bank of Scotland the Sum of Sixty four pounds Sterling to retire the Bill in said Bank, due in a few days and to pay the feu.[1]

At St Andrews, the Ninth day of September, Eighteen hundred & fifty six years,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of St Andrews,
Present,
Mr Thomas Smith, Deacon
Mr James Ireland Mr Alexr Kirk
Mr John Trail
Mr Thomas Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting authorise Mr Alexander Kirk & Mr Thomas Smith to draw from the Bank of Scotland the sum of Fifty five pounds Stg. to assist in retiring the Bill in said Bank due in a few days.

[12th September 1856.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [Thomas Smith] & Boxmaster [James Ireland], Mr Alexander Kirk, Senior, Mr James Duncan, Mr John Fortune, & Mr James Trail.

[1] There appears to have been no difficulties regarding a quorum in those days.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Tenth day of December, Eighteen hundred & fifty six,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,
Present,
M^{r} Thomas Smith, Deacon
M^{r} Alex^{r} Kirk
M^{r} James Trail
M^{r} Thomas Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting authorise M^{r} Alexander Kirk & M^{r} Thomas Smith to draw from the Bank of Scotland the Sum of Forty pounds Stg. to assist in retiring the Bill in said Bank due in a few days.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Sixth day of March, Eighteen hundred & fifty seven years,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,
Present,
M^{r} Thomas Smith, Deacon
M^{r} Alexander Kirk
M^{r} James Ireland
M^{r} John Trail
M^{r} Thomas Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting authorise M^{r} Alexander Kirk & Mr. Thos. Smith to draw from the Bank of Scotland the sum of Twenty pounds Stg. to assist in retiring the Bill in said Bank due in a few weeks.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Seventeenth day of June, Eighteen hundred & fifty seven years,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,
Present,
M^{r} Thomas Smith, Deacon
M^{r} Alexander Kirk
M^{r} John Trail
M^{r} Thomas Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting authorise M^{r} Alexander Kirk & M^{r} Thomas Smith to renew the Bill at the Bank of Scotland for £20 - - falling due in a few days.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Eighth day of September, Eighteen hundred & fifty seven years,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,
Present,

M^{r} Thomas Smith, Deacon
M^{r} Alexander Kirk
M^{r} John Fortune
M^{r} James Trail
M^{r} James Ireland
M^{r} John Trail

M^{r} Thomas Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting authorise M^{r} Alexander Kirk & M^{r} Thomas Smith to draw from the Bank of Scotland the sum of Twenty five pounds to retire the Bill at said Bank & for other purposes.

[11th September 1857.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [Thomas Smith] & Boxmaster [John Fortune], M^{r} Alexander Kirk, M^{r} James Duncan, & M^{r} James Trail.

At S^{t} Andrews, the fifteenth day of December, Eighteen hundred & fifty seven years,
Present,

M^{r} Thomas Smith — M^{r} Ireland
M^{r} Alexander Kirk — M^{r} Fortune
M^{r} John Trail — M^{r} Jas. Duncan

M^{r} Thomas Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting authorise M^{r} Alexander Kirk & M^{r} Thomas Smith to draw from the Bank of Scotland the sum of Eleven pounds, to assist in retiring the Bill falling due at the said Bank.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Twenty Sixth day of March, Eighteen hundred & fifty eight,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,
Present,

M^{r} Thomas Smith, D.

Mr Alexr Kirk
Mr John Fortune
Mr John Trail
Mr Thomas Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting authorised Mr Alexr Kirk & Mr Thomas Smith to draw from the Bank of Scotland Eleven Pounds Stg. to retire the Bill at said Bank.

At St Andrews, the Twenty third day of June, Eighteen hundred & fifty Eight,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of St Andrews,
Present,
Mr Thomas Smith, D.
Mr Alex. Kirk
Mr John Fortune
Mr John Trail
Mr Thomas Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting authorised Mr Alexander Kirk & Mr Thomas Smith to draw from the Bank of Scotland the sum of Thirty five pounds Stg. to retire the Bill at said Bank & to pay other debts.

At St Andrews, the Seventh day of September, Eighteen hundred & fifty eight years,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of St Andrews,
Present,
Mr Thomas Smith, D.
Mr Alexr Kirk
Mr John Trail
Mr James Trail
Mr Thomas Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting authorised Mr Alexander Kirk & Mr Thomas Smith to draw from the Bank of Scotland the sum of Thirty five pounds Stg. to retire the Bill at said Bank.

[10th September 1858.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [Thomas Smith] & Boxmaster [John Fortune], Mr Alexander Kirk, Mr James Duncan, and Mr James Trail.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Twenty ninth day of December, Eighteen hundred & fifty eight years,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of St Andrews,
Present,

M^{r} Thomas Smith, D.
M^{r} Alex^{r} Kirk
M^{r} James Ireland
M^{r} John Trail

M^{r} Thomas Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting authorised M^{r} Alexander Kirk & M^{r} Thomas Smith to draw from the Bank of Scotland the sum of Thirty pounds Stg. to retire the Bill becoming due there, &c.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Thirty first day of March, Eighteen hundred & fifty nine years,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,
Present,

M^{r} Tho^{s} Smith, Deacon
M^{r} Alex^{r} Kirk
M^{r} John Trail
M^{r} John Fortune

M^{r} Thomas Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting authorised M^{r} Alexander Kirk & M^{r} Thomas Smith to draw from the Bank of Scotland the sum of Twenty pounds Sterling to assist in retiring the Bill becoming due there.

At S^{t} Andrews, the fourteenth day of June, Eighteen hundred & fifty nine years,
In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of S^{t} Andrews,
Present,

M^{r} Tho^{s} Smith, Deacon
M^{r} Alexander Kirk
M^{r} John Trail

M^{r} Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting agreed to give the Widow & family of the late James Trail the sum of One pound Stg. to assist them in their present distress.

The Meeting authorised Mr Alexander Kirk & Mr Thomas Smith to draw from the Bank of Scotland the sum of Forty pounds Stg. to retire the Bill falling due & to pay other expenses.

[10th September 1859.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [Thomas Smith] & Boxmaster [John Fortune], Mr Alexander Kirk, Mr James Duncan, & Mr James Ireland.

[10th September 1859.]

. . . Authority to draw from the Bank of Scotland the sum of Forty pounds Stg. to retire the Bill becoming due shortly.

[11th January 1860.]

. . . Authority to draw from the Bank of Scotland the sum of Forty pounds Stg. to retire the Bill becoming due.

At St Andrews, the Third day of April, Eighteen hundred & Sixty,

In a Meeting of the Baker Trade of St Andrews,

Present,

Mr Thomas Smith, Deacon
Mr Alexander Kirk
Mr John Fortune
Mr David Craig
Mr John Trail
Mr Benjamin Philp

Mr Thomas Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting authorised Mr Alexander Kirk & Mr Thomas Smith to draw from the Bank of Scotland the sum of Thirty pounds Stg. to assist in retiring the Bill becoming due.

The Meeting having considered the present position of the affairs of the Trade resolved to petition the Town Council of St Andrews for a reduction of the feu, or failing their agreeing to this, to take the Mill into their own hands—paying the debt due—a Copy of the Petition to the Council was read & approved of.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Twenty eighth day of May, Eighteen hundred & Sixty,

Present,

M^{r} Thomas Smith
M^{r} Alex. Kirk
M^{r} David Craig
M^{r} James Duncan
M^{r} John Trail
M^{r} John Fortune

M^{r} Tho^{s} Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting having again considered the affairs of the Trade resolved to Consult the Clydesdale Bank who advanced the money. The Meeting agreed further to press the matter with the Town Council, as no answer had yet been returned to the Petition.

The Meeting agreed to accept of £3 . 10/ for Cart & Harness & the use of the small park.

At S^{t} Andrews, the ninth day of July, Eighteen hundred & sixty,

Present,

M^{r} Thomas Smith
M^{r} Alex. Kirk
M^{r} James Duncan
M^{r} John Fortune
M^{r} Benjamin Philp

M^{r} Tho^{s} Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting having been informed by M^{r} Walker, Agent for the Clydesdale Bank here, that the Bill for Eight hundred pounds sterling granted by the Trade in September, Eighteen hundred & fifty three, for cash account, was past due, Agreed to renew the same, & therefore authorised & hereby authorise M^{r} Thomas Smith, Deacon, and M^{r} John Fortune, Box-master, to grant a new Bill for the said sum to the Bank.

At S^{t} Andrews, the Fourteenth day of August, Eighteen hundred & Sixty,

Present,

Mr Thomas Smith, Deacon
Mr Benjamin Philp
Mr Alex. Kirk
Mr David Craig
Mr John Fortune
Mr Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting having Considered the affairs of the Trade agreed to advertise the Mill & Lands &c. for Sale or Let—offers to be given in by 17th Septr. nixt. Intimation to be given of this to the Clydesdale Bank, & the Meeting further agreed to pay the £30 Bill at the Bank of Scotland.

[1st September 1860.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [Thomas Smith] & Boxmaster [John Fortune], Mr Alexander Kirk, Mr James Duncan, & Mr James Ireland.

At St Andrews, the first day of October, Eighteen hundred & Sixty,

Present,

Mr Thomas Smith, Deacon
Mr John Fortune
Mr Benjamin Philp
Mr James Duncan
Mr Alexr Kirk
Mr John Trail
Mr Smith in the Chair.

The Meeting agreed that the Boiler of the Engine should be repaired without delay. The Meeting taking into consideration the scarcity of the Water, directed the Miller to take great Care that none should be lost & that if necessary the same be run off on Sunday mornings, as is done in many other Mills in the Country.

The two offers for the Mill were ordered to lie on the table.

At St Andrews, the fifteenth day of October, Eighteen hundred & Sixty years,

Present,

Mr Thomas Smith, Deacon
Mr John Fortune
Mr Benjamin Philp
Mr James Duncan
Mr Alexander Kirk
Mr John Trail

Mr Smith in the Chair.

It was stated that since last Meeting a gentleman had been making enquiries with the view of purchasing the Mill, & it was agreed before taking any final steps in the matter that the Members should wait on the Bank Agent here & let him know the state of matters, with a view to learn if the Bank thought it prudent that the Trade should sell the Property at a lower sum than the debt due, & if the Bank on payment of said sum would discharge the debt.

At St Andrews, the fifth day of November, Eighteen hundred & Sixty years,

Present,

Mr Thomas Smith, Deacon
Mr John Fortune
Mr Benjamin Philp
Mr Alexr Kirk
Mr John Trail
Mr David Craig

Mr Smith in the Chair.

The meeting agreed to let to Mr George Colville, Grocer, St Andrews, the shed at the Mill presently occupied by Mr Patterson, for one year from Martinmas first, on condition that he did not put any fish in it.[1]

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[1] The condition was due to the well-known susceptibility of flour to absorb any taint or smell from articles with which it might come into contact. Forty years after this wise and careful provision it is almost incredible that no stringent regulations are enforced by Local Authorities regarding the places in which flour and bread are sold, and that chandlers and provision sellers can keep them beside fish, ham, and soap, without any attention being paid them.

An offer by Mr David Westwood for the small park at the Mill was favourably received; the particulars to be afterwards arranged.

At St Andrews, the seventh day of November, Eighteen hundred & Sixty years,
Present,
Mr Thomas Smith, Deacon
Mr Alexr Kirk
Mr Jas. Duncan
Mr David Craig
Mr John Fortune
Mr John Trail
Mr. Smith in the Chair.

It was stated to the meeting that Mr Westwood had reconsidered his offer & now wished the small piece of the garden adjoining the Road, for which he was willing to give a Yearly rent of SEVEN POUNDS STG., for a Lease of five years from Martinmas first. Which offer was accepted, on condition that the terms of the Lease and other matters were satisfactory to the Deacon—The Lease to be granted by the Deacon & Boxmaster in name of the trade.

The meeting agreed that the present Miller, Mr David Robertson, should be continued in the Mill, under the following new arrangements, 1st the engagement to be for six months from Martinmas, Eighteen hundred & Sixty, unless in the event of the mill being sold, when the engagement should cease & come to an end upon a fortnights warning. 2nd The question as to the running of the water on Sunday to be left at present as it was before & to be afterwards reconsidered. 3rd The wages to be three pence per boll dry pay.[1] 4th The piece of the garden required by Mr Westwood to be given up.

At St Andrews, the tenth day of December, Eighteen hundred & Sixty Years,

[1] Exactly a century before the Preston Quarter Sessions decreed that 'a miller shall not take by the year above iijli'—about a shilling a week for wages.

Present,

Mr Thomas Smith
Mr Alexande Kirk
Mr Benjamin Philp
Mr John Fortune
Mr David Craig
Mr James Ireland
Mr James Duncan
Mr John Trail

Mr Smith in the chair.

It was stated to the meeting that Mr Robertson had agreed to the terms fixed at last meeting.

Mr Thomas Smith then said that he had received a letter from the Clydesdale Bank asking the opinion of the Trade as to the desirability of realizing the mill without prejudice, & also for the authority shewing that the members were not personally liable, & the deacon was directed to say in answer that there had been a number of decisions as to incorporations, but they could not at present refer to the special one bearing on their case, & also that there was considerable difficulty as to selling the mill until the debt was cleared off.

At St Andrews, the Thirty first day of December, Eighteen hundred & Sixty one,

Present,

Mr Thomas Smith
Mr Alexr Kirk
Mr James Duncan
Mr David Craig
Mr John Fortune

Mr Smith in the Chair.

The Lease to Mr Westwood was approved of.

The Letter to Messrs Landale for their opinion was read, & also their answer which was favorable.

A Letter was read from the Agents of the Clydesdale Bank requesting a Settlement, & the Deacon was requested

to write them in answer, stating the Circumstances, & that the Trade considered that £600 would be a fair Compromise. A Copy of the answer to the Agents was read & approved of.

At St Andrews, the Eighth day of July, Eighteen hundred & Sixty one years,
Present,
Mr Thomas Smith
Mr Alexander Kirk
Mr Benjamin Philp
Mr James Duncan
Mr John Fortune
Mr John Trail
Mr Smith in the Chair.

Mr Duncan stated to the Meeting that he had endeavoured to see Mr Hay, the party who previously offered for the Mill, to learn his intention as to a purchase, but unfortunately he was at Edinburgh when he called on him.

It was stated that a Summons had been served on Several of the Members at the instance of the Bank, & as it was desirable that Law proceedings should be avoided if possible, it was agreed that Mr B. Philp & Mr Jas. Duncan should proceed to Glasgow & have a Conference with the Manager or others acting for the Bank, in order that a Compromise might be effected.

It was also agreed that Messrs T & R. Landale, S.S.C., Edinburgh, should be requested to enter appearance in the Case, so that time might be got for corresponding with the Bank.

At St Andrews, the thirteenth day of July, Eighteen hundred & Sixty one years,
Present,
Mr Thos Smith
Mr James Duncan
Mr Alexander Kirk
Mr John Fortune
Mr Smith in the Chair.

Mr Duncan stated to the Meeting that he and Mr Philp had proceeded to Glasgow & that they had had a conference with the Manager of the Clydesdale Bank on the subject of the debt due by the Baker Trade, but that they had not come to any understanding on the subject. The Meeting, having taken the whole matter into consideration, agreed to offer to pay to the Bank the sum of seven hundred pounds sterling, as in full of all claim which the Bank has against the trade, or on account of the debt due on the cash account of the said Trade. This Offer being made in order that this matter may be amicably settled & law proceedings avoided—It being understood that if this offer is not accepted, it is not to be founded on in any way, so that the rights of both parties may not be affected by it. It was also agreed that if the Bank wished, the mill should be again advertised for sale, & the Deacon was directed to add that as the members have gone so far with their limited means, they earnestly trust that the Bank will kindly agree to their proposal, & thus end what has been & what will still be, to some of them a most distressing & painful business.

At St Andrews, the Thirtieth day of July, Eighteen hundred & Sixty one years,

Present,

Mr Thomas Smith
Mr Alexander Kirk
Mr John Fortune
Mr David Craig
Mr John Trail

Mr Thomas Smith in the Chair.

A letter was read from the Manager of the Clydesdale Bank, Glasgow, agreeing to accept of the £700 - - offered by the Trade, as in full of the debt due to the Bank, on Condition that the same should be paid in a month, & that the Trade should also pay the account incurred to the Bank's Law Agent in Edinburgh. The Members present directed the Deacon to Convey to the Manager & Directors of the

Bank, & also to the Agent here their best thanks for the Bank's kindness in accepting of the offer, & thereby saving troublesome Law proceedings. The Deacon was directed to send an extract of the above to Mr Walker & also to say to him that the Trade would trust to the liberality of the Bank, as to the Account of their Edinburgh law Agent, & that as Decree could not be got till September it might not be required at all, but if it was, the parties named in the Summons would like the others included.

The Deacon was requested to petition the Town Council for a reduction of the Amount due for feu, in consideration of the great outlay caused by the failure of the Water.

At St Andrews, the fifth day of August, Eighteen hundred & sixty one,
Present,

Mr Thomas Smith	Mr John Trail
Mr Alexander Kirk	Mr Jas Ireland
Mr John Fortune	Mr Benjamin Philp
Mr David Craig	Mr Jas Duncan

Mr Smith in the Chair.

The former Minutes of the Trade in reference to the arrangement with the Clydesdale Bank, as to the debt due by the Trade, were read and unanimously approved of. A letter was (read) also read from Mr Walker, agent for the Bank here, in answer to the letter sending an extract of last minute of the trade, & saying that he would be glad to recommend to the Bank to deal liberally in regard to the expenses.

It was stated to the meeting that several members of the Trade had attended the Meeting of Town Council on Saturday last, when it was agreed to accept of the one half of the sum due by the trade, payable in two months from that date, & in order to raise the necessary funds to pay the sum due (by the trade payable in two months from that date (& in order to raise the necessary funds)[1] to the City, it was agreed

[1] See remark at end of minute, '18 words deleted.'

that the whole seats or pews in the Town Church of St Andrews should be exposed to sale by Public Roup, on Monday, the 19th Curt. The same being previously advertised by handbills posted through the City & the advertisement inserted once in the Fife Herald & Fifeshire Journal. The Meeting hereby authorized, & hereby authorize, Mr Thomas Smith, Deacon, Mr John Fortune, Boxmaster, Mr Alexander Kirk, Mr James Duncan, Mr David Craig, Mr Benjamin Philp, Mr James Ireland, Mr John Trail, all Members of Trade, or a Majority & quorum thereof, to subscribe the articles of Roup, in name of, & as representing, the trade; & also to grant the necessary dispositions or other conveyances of the said seats, whether sold at the Public Sale or privately afterwards to the Purchaser. The Deacon & Boxmaster were also authorised to arrange with the auctioneer as to the lots and upset prices of the said seats or pews, & to give the Auctioneer full power for carrying through the sale. It was agreed that information should be given to Mr Hay that the Bank are willing to accept of £700 for their debt, and that, as an arrangement had now been come to with the Town, there was no difficulty of coming to an arrangement if he could make up his mind to give the price wanted. 18 words deleted.

At St Andrews, the second day of September, Eighteen hundred & Sixty one,

Present,

Mr Smith — Mr John Fortune
Mr Kirk — Mr David Craig
Mr Benjamin Philp

Mr Smith in the Chair.

The Clerk laid on the table the following offer from Messrs Conollys & Jamieson, Writers, Anstruther, on behalf of Mr James Hay, Miller, Crail—"William Woodcock, Esq., Writer, St Andrews. Dear Sir, Anstruther, 20th August 1861. We are instructed by Mr James Hay, Miller, Crail, to offer you on behalf of the members of the Baker Trade of St Andrews, the sum of Six hundred and Seventy five pounds,

Stg., for the Abbey Mill, belonging to them, including the Kiln Sheds and buildings connected therewith, & the Engine & Boiler, Machinery, gearing, & appurtenances, and whole Mill furniture, and moveable articles belonging thereto and used thereat, including cart, Beam & Scales, Weights, &c., &c. His term of Entry to be as at first October next. We are, Yours truly (signed) Conollys & Jamieson."

The meeting agreed to accept of said Offer on condition that the title is taken as it is, & that the term of entry shall be when the Cash is paid down, & which shall be before Martinmas first at latest, & as the Proprietors know of no Incumbrances on the subjects, searches shall not be required, the expenses of the Conveyance, Stamp and revising fee to be paid mutually, and, as the Mill is insured, the purchaser shall pay the proportion of the premium & duty effeiring to the time he has possessed.

It was stated to the meeting that three of the seats or Pews authorized to be sold at last meeting had not been sold at the roup, but that offers had been received for the same, on the terms and conditions of the said articles of Roup, as follows, Vizt. for number 184, by Robert Mitchell, Esq., Residenter, St Andrews, the sum of £10 Stg.; for number 185, by Mr. George Bruce, Cabinet Maker there, the sum of £9; and for 173, by Miss Jean Clark, residing there, the sum of £4 Stg.; which Offers the meeting agreed to accept. Thereafter the meeting confirmed and hereby confirm the previous Minute, authorizing the parties therein named to grant the necessary Dispositions or other Conveyances to the purchasers.

[13th September 1861.]

Nomina Concilii.

Deacon [Thomas Smith] & Boxmaster [John Fortune], Mr Alexander Kirk, Mr James Duncan, & Mr David Craig.

At St Andrews, the Thirteenth day of September, Eighteen Hundred & Sixty one,

Present,

Mr Thomas Smith, Deacon — Mr Jas. Duncan
Mr John Fortune, Boxmaster — Mr Dav. Craig
Mr Alex. Kirk

Mr Smith in the chair.

The Clerk laid on the table a letter from Messrs Connollys & Jamieson, agreeing on the part of Mr Jas Hay, to the conditions specified in the minute of the Trade on the second current, & which letter is of the following tenor. Anstruther, 9 Sept. 1861. Dear Sir, We were duly favored with your letter of 1st Inst. and having now seen Mr Hay, we are instructed on his part to acquiesce in the conditions specified by your clients in their minute, accepting of an offer for the Abbey Mill & pertinents. We are, Yours Truly, Conollys & Jamieson.—Wm Woodcock, Esq., Writer, St Andrews.

The Meeting authorized & hereby authorize Mr Thos Smith, Deacon, Mr John Fortune, Boxmaster, Mr Jas Duncan, Mr Alex. Kirk, Mr David Craig, Mr Benjamin Philp, Mr James Ireland, & Mr John Trail, all members of the Trade, to grant the necessary conveyance of the Abbey Mill in favor of Mr James Hay, Miller, Crail—the purchaser thereof, or in favor of any other party he may name.

At St Andrews, the Fifteenth day of November, Eighteen Hundred Sixty one,

Present,

Mr Thos Smith, Deacon — Mr Jas. Duncan
Mr John Fortune, Boxmaster — Mr Dav. Craig
Mr Alex. Kirk — Mr John Trail

Mr Smith in the chair.

The Chairman stated that Mr James Hay, Miller, Crail, the purchaser of the Abbey Mill, had intimated to him, that he had sold his right therein, & that he wished the conveyance thereof to be made out in favor of Mr John Hutton, Farmer, Wester Newhall in the parish of Crail. The meeting therefore authorized, and hereby authorize, Mr Thomas Smith, Deacon, Mr John Fortune, Boxmaster, Mr James Duncan,

Mr Alex. Kirk, Mr David Craig, Mr Benjamin Philp, Mr James Ireland & Mr John Trail—all members of the Trade, to grant the necessary conveyance in favor of the said John Hutton—the same being also signed by the said James Hay in token or his consent.

LIST OF APPRENTICES

FROM 1548 TO 1828.

James Smit, ap. w. David Ade,	3rd June 1548.
George Steynsoun, ap. w. Alane Steynsoun,	3rd June 1548.
Vilzem Pytcairne, ap. w. James Browne,	3rd June 1548.
Alexander Owruk, ap. w. Thomas Mortoune,	3rd June 1548.
David Scot,[1] ap. w. Duncane Kenloquhy,	3rd June 1548.
Wylzem Balfour, ap. w. Robert Browne,	3rd June 1548.
Duncan Sage, ap. w. Androw Mouffat,	25th September 1549.
Jone Steirk, ap. w. Thomas Walkar,	25th November 1549.
Thomas Swan, ap. w. Vylzem Small,	1st February 1550.
Archibald Browne, ap. w. James Browne, elder,	31st May 1551.
Jone Symsoun, ap. w. James Symsoun,	31st May 1551.
Hendre Fairfuyll, ap. w. Williem Henderson,	31st May 1551.
Vyllem Millar, ap. w. Thomas Steyne,	9th November 1553.
Thomas Trayl, ap. w. Duncane Kenloquhi,	22nd November 1553.
Jone Telzowir,[2] ap. w. Willem Hendrsoun,	10th November 1554.

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[1] There is an unsavoury case in the Kirk Session Records (Vol. I. p. 246) against a David Scot, but as there is nothing other than the similarity of the names to connect the guilty one with the above, we may gladly give the baker the benefit of the doubt.

[2] This John Taylor appears to have taken his way to London to try his fortune, but, unlike most Scottish bakers since, he appears to have left his wife behind him. On 15th July 1584, 'conperit Patrik, Bischop of St. Androus, befoir the sessioun and ministrie thairof, and declarit that his lordschip him selfe hes takin sufficient triall in Lundoun of the departure of umquhill Jhone Tailzeour, sumtyme baxter citiner in this citee, fra this lyffe; and thairfor takis the burding on his lordschip of the mater, and of the said Jhonis departure; and sua his lordschip, as ordinar Bischop of St. Androus, ordanis the mariage to proceid betuix Archibald Wischert and Jonet Dalgleische, relict of the said umquhill Jhone, and the redar to proclame thair bannis Sunday nixttocum.' (Session Records, Vol. II. p. 532). Wishart, who is described as a merchant, was twice before the Session—15th February, 1575 and 18th April, 1582—for breaking the Sabbath by trading at Crail. Patrick, the Lord Bishop, who took such pains to verify the baker's death, was the celebrated Patrick Adamson, himself the son of a Perth baker, one of the 'Tulchan Bishops,' and

Jone Arnot, ap. w. Androw Muffat,	22nd March 1554.
Alexander Orok, ap. w. Thomas Mortoun,	29th March 1555.
David Mortoun, ap. w. Robert Thomsoun,	4th November 1555.
David Cupar, ap. w. Thomas Swane,	16th November 1555.
David Barclay, ap. w. Jone Scharp,	18th November 1555.
James Nore, ap. w. Alexander Pittillok,	18th November 1555.
Archibald Lewynstoun, ap. w. Villem Muffat,	25th November 1555.
Jone Kynnayr, ap. w. Vyllem Bell,	2nd December 1555.
James Hay, ap. w. Willem Rynd,	3rd December 1555.
David Kynlocht, ap. w. David Mylis,	7th January 1555. (?1556).
Andro Davidson, ap. w. Duncan Davidson (his brother),	11th January 1555.
Robert Mortoune, ap. w. James Symsoun,	1st February 1556.
Robert Rayt, ap. w. Alane Steynsoun, (his gudschir)	20th June 1557. Indentured 12th September 1553.
Jone Terrows, ap. w. Vyllem Rynd,	20th December 1557.
Robert Balfour, ap. w. Wellem Balfour,	18th May 1558.
James Lundy, ap. w. Androw Moffat,	3rd October 1558.
Charlye Ramsay[1], ap. w. James Broune, zongar,	17th October 1558.
Willem Sagis, ap. w. Duncane Kenloquhy,	28th October 1558.
Jone Myller, ap. w. Thomas Steyne,	28th October 1558.
Jone Moris, ap. w. Arche Browne,	8th December 1558.
David Staig, ap. w. Duncane Davidsoun,	17th December 1558.
Walter Cowper, ap. w. Jone Walcar,	9th January 1558.
Jone Honiman, ap. w. Jone Walcar,	1st June 1564.
David Rycard, ap. w. David Staig,	13th June 1564.
Symon Vischard, ap. w. David Schot,	20th June 1564.
David Moris, ap. w. Hendre Smal,	19th December 1564.
David Kynare, ap. w. Archebald Brownn,	1st July 1565.
David Walkar, ap. w. Walter Cowper,	25th March 1565.
Alexander Patie (son of late Alexander Patie), ap. w. Thomas Muffat,	8th December 1581.
David Duncane (son of late Alexander Duncan), ap. w. Wm Duncanson,	8th December 1581.
James Thomsoun (son of late Thomas Thomsoun), ap. w. Wm Traill,	26th July 1582.
Thomas Hendersoun, ap. w. David Kynneir,	8th May 1583.
Jhone Greig (son of Andro Greig, Cires), ap. w. David Kinnair,	24th December 1584.
Jhoune Aytoun, zoungar, ap. w. William Balfour,	23rd May 1587.
Thomas Thomsoun (son of late Thomas Thomsoun, baxter),	20th February 1587.

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the 'wolf' of James Melville. He became Archbishop of St. Andrews in 1576, and held the office until 1591. Amongst the derelections of duties laid to his charge, and through which he was deposed, was that he had officiated at the marriage of the Catholic Earl of Huntly, without first getting him to sign the Confession of Faith. He died at Sedan in 1592.

[1] He was admitted as Master on 19th December, 1583. His house is mentioned in a Kirk Session case upon May 1589, in a charge levelled against a Henry Lovell.

David Deware (son of Jhonne Deware, of Dewarisnuiln), ap. w. David Pitcairn, 28th February 1587.
Jhonne Scharpe (son to late Jhonne Scharpe), ap. w. Alexander Scharpe (his fayer broyer), 11th May 1588.
James Anstruthir (son of late Robert Anstruthir), ap. w. Alexander Scharpe, 17th September 1588.
David Russell, in Coklawis, ap. w. Williame Dunkesoun, 30th April 1589.
Patrik Smyt[1] (son of Jhonne Smyt[2], in Balon), ap. w. David Tailzour, 16th June 1589.
Robert Russell (son of Jon Russell, in Kynbaikmonthe), ap. w. James Duncan, 30th October 1589.
Thomas Greig (son of Robert Greig), ap. w. George Greig, 1st November 1589.
Patrick Arthour (son of late William Arthour of Kairns), ap. w. James Alexander, 13th October 1590.
James Brown[3] (son of late James Brown), ap. w. Jhonne Greig, 28th January 1590.
William Zwill (son of Robert Zwill), ap. w. Jhonne Myllis, 30th October 1591.
Jhonne Buchanan, ap. w. Thomas Moffett, 3rd January 1591.
Thomas Dyksone, jun. (son of Thomas Dyksone, Maltman), ap. w. Alexander Sharpe, 3rd December 1613.
Thomas Powtye (son of Mr Thomas Powtye, Minister at Leslie), ap. w. James Broun, 4th May 1615.
Johnne Tailzeour (son of David Tailzeour, Merchand), ap. w. Robert Valkar, 31st December 1616.
Thomas Mounth (son of late James Mounth), ap. w. Andrew Honiman, 3rd February 1618.
David Duncan (son of Thomas Duncan, in the Wynd), ap. w. George Moffett, 3rd January 1622.
Johne Ferrie, ap. w. Archebald Levingstone, 6th December 1622.

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[1] Patrick Smith. Upon the 19th October, 1597, Patrick Smith, baxter, was decerned by the magistrates to pay 10s to the Poor Box, and to make public humiliation for receiving a load of flour and for travelling upon the Sabbath day.

[2] John Smith. John Smith, of Balone, was a deacon in 1586, and again in 1590. In 1591 he became surety for the appearance of an offender before the Session, and in 1593 he again appears as an elder, and is described as a portioner of Balone.

[3] Two years afterwards, on 24th January 1592, Brown appears in the Register of the Kirk Session, when 'Elspot Lyell grantis sche is with barn to James Broun, servitour and prenteis to Jhone Greg baxter, quhilk wes gottin in Jhonis hous xv dayis efter Michaelmes last wes; and that this is the secund barn sche hes gottin in fornicatioun. The sessioun ordanit James Bron to be warnit to ansuer thairto this day aucht dayis. Elspot warnit heirto *apud acta.*' On which day the young apprentice appeared before the Session and played the part of Adam, although he had failed in following the example of Joseph, for he 'grantis carnall copulatioun with Elspot Lyell, and that Elspot intysit him and com to his bed quhen he wes slepand. He is ordanit to pay xls in part of pament of the Act and to mak humiliatioun.' Kirk Session Records, Vol. II., pp. 741 and 743

David Diksone (son to Thomas Diksoun, elder), ap. w. Thomas Diksoun, jr., 26th June 1622.

Robert Kenloquhye (son of late Arthour Kenloquhye), ap. w. Patrik Walker, 8th August 1628.

Johne Buchanan (son to late Mr Robert Balchanan), ap. w. Thomas Buchanan, 17th September 1628.

Jon Bruce (son of late Jon Bruce, Brabainer), ap. w. George Muffett, 2nd September 1630.

Johnne Bred (son to Johnne Bred, maltman), ap. w. Patrik Walcar, 21st August 1632.

Johnne Myrtoun (son to Patrik Myrtoun), ap. w. David Duncan (from 2nd February 1634), 23rd January 1634.

James Walcar (son of Johnne Walcar, mariner), ap. w. Robert Walcar, 10th August 1636.

Johnne Browne (son of Alexander Browne, maltman), ap. w. James Browne, 27th October 1641.

Thomas Wilsone (son of Hew Wilsone), ap. w. Peter Duncansone, 12th March 1644.

George Johnstone (son of Robert Johnnstone, Merchant), ap. w. Johnne Walker, 16th January 1645.

Patrik Denmylne (son of Patrik Denmylne, in Carnebie), ap. w. Alexander Mortone, 5th May 1646.

Thomas Walkar (son of Thomas Walkar, Merchant), ap. w. Robert Walkar, 3rd February 1648.

George Symsone (son of late Thomas Symsone, sometime clark of Anstruthar), ap. w. Piter Duncansone, 7th November 1649.

Andro Gairdner (son of Andro Gairdner, skipper in Anstruthar), ap. w. Jon Walkar, 25th January 1650.

Patrik Quhytheid (son of late Mr Thomas Quhytheid, Minister at Abernyt), ap. w. Alexr Mortoun, 29th November 1651.

James Myrtoun (son of William Myrtoun, mariner), ap. w. Patrik Walkar, 16th June 1658.

David Leitch (son of David Leitch, scoolmaister at Cullessie), ap. w. David Broun, 25th June 1662.

Robert Turpie (son of Androw Turpie, Skippar), ap. w. Alexr Month, 28th February 1665.

Patrik Wilsone (son of late Johnne Wilsone, of Quheitcroft), ap. w. Patrik Walkar, 15th March 1666.

Johnne Meldrum (son of Andro Meldrum, Mariner), ap. w. David Broun, 5th February 1668.

Robert Hendersone (son of late Alexander Hendersone, Maltman), ap. w. Johnne Bruce, 24th June 1669.

Patrick Williamsone (son of late Stephin Williamson, induellar in the New burgh), ap. w. Johne Livingstoun, 1st February 1672.

George Tod (son of Thomas Tod, servitor to the baxter trade), ap. w. Johne Duncansone, 2nd December 1675.

Hendrie Mitchell (son of Wm Mitchell, tennent in Easter Balrymonth), ap. w. Johne Broun, 10th September 1691.

ap. w. Johne Livingstone, 12th October 1692.

Johne Darsie (son of Alex. Darsie, maltman, Anstruther Wester), ap. w. Johne Bruce, deacon convener, 27th April 1692.

James Balfower (son of late James Balfower, burgess), ap. w. Wm. Walkar, 23rd November 1694.

Henrie Tood (son of David Tood, burges), ap. w. John Bruce, late Deacon Convener, 7th December 1698.

Alexander Weymes (son of Alex. Weymes, portioner, Ballone), ap. w. James Duncansone, 6th April 1704.

William Gib (son of late James Gib, burges), ap. w. James Duncansone, 12th October 1705.

Gilbertt Baird (son of Gilbertt Baird, gildbrother), ap. w. John Braid, 27th November 1705.

David Murray (son of Thomas Murray, Lydocks Mylne), ap. w. John Johnstoune, Jr., 12th September 1717.

Alexander Russell (son of Thomas Russell, residenter), ap. w. Michael Balfour, 26th November 1723.

John Symers (son of Robert Symers, gildbrother), ap. w. William Gib, 27th June 1729.

William McIntosh (son to late William McIntosh, Brewar in Ferrieportencraig), ap. w. John Duncanson, 21st February 1734.

Thomas Russell (son of late William Russell, tennent in Ferny Braik), ap. w. David Walker, 14th March 1734.

John Gregory (son of Mr Charles Gregory, Professor of Mathematicks in the University), ap. w. John Duncanson, 9th October 1735.

James Crighton (son of David Crighton, Maltman), ap. w. William Gib, 17th February 1736.

Thomas Kid (son of James Kid, land labourer), ap. w. John Duncanson, 14th October 1737.

Walter Patie (son of James Patie, Residenter in Argyle), ap. w. David Walker, 28th November 1738.

Andrew Ferriar (son of late Andrew Ferrier, writer), ap. w. John Gregory, 3rd November 1741.

David Brown (son of deceast James Brown, University Post), ap. w. David Tod, 23rd January 1749.

William Dall (son of Alexander Dall, Schoolmaster at Kilmennie), ap. w. John Duncanson, whom failing, his son, Thomas, 15th May 1754.

John Sym (son of William Sym, land labourer), ap. w. David Tod, 21st December 1759.

George Duncan (son of Andrew Duncan, tenant in Bankhead of Lathallan), ap. w. John Duncanson, 25th July 1764.

John Methven (son of Thomas Methven, gildbrother), ap. w. John Duncanson (late Convener) from Martinmas, 1762, 6th February 1765.

Andrew Duncan (see entry, p. 175), 17th March 1766.

Robert Traill, (son of John Traill, tenant in Strathkinness), ap. w. Thomas Fair, 16th March 1767.

David Greig (son of deceast David Greig, late tenant in Hiltoun of Kinninmonth), ap. w. Coline Tod, 7th August 1767.

Alexander Wan (son of James Wan, Brewer in Kenley), ap. w. Thomas Duncanson, 3rd May 1768.

Alexander Tod (son to David Tod, tenant in Kenly), ap. w. Thomas Fair, 9th May 1768.

John Carstairs (son of David Carstairs, Tennent in Boghall), ap. w. George Duncan, 28th August 1769.

Thomas Nisbet (son of James Nisbet, wheelwright), ap. w. John Duncanson, 19th January 1770.

William Lindesay 22nd January 1771.

David Bruce (son of Robert Bruce, Shoemaker, Lathalan), ap. w. George Duncan, 20th July 1771.

William Jervis (son of George Jervis, Fewar in the grounds of Raderney), ap. w. Andrew Duncan, 23rd July 1771.

James Motion (son of John Motion, landlabourer), ap. w. Andrew Duncan, 18th February 1772.

Henry Band (son of deceast James Band, tennant in Easter Pitcortie), ap. w. George Duncan, 3rd July 1772.

William Thomson (son of Alexander Thomson, mason in North Falfield), ap. w. John Duncanson, 2nd July 1773.

David Carstairs (son of David Carstairs, smith in Kingsbarns), ap. w. Andrew Duncan (since Whitsunday), 27th July 1774.

Robert Mathew (son of Robert Mathew, shipmaster in Dundee), ap. w. Thomas Honeyman, 5th September 1774.

James Russell (son of Robert Russell, subtacksman of the Flour Miln of St. Andrews), ap. w. John Carstairs, 29th May 1775.

Peter Latta (son of Robert Latto, tenant in Raderny), ap. w. Andrew Duncan, 12th April 1776.

Robert Anderson (son of deceast James Anderson, late hosier in Cupar), ap. w. James Motion, 23rd January 1778.

William Cuthbert (son of Robert Cuthbert, smith), ap. w. Andrew Duncan, for 3 years and one month from Christmas last, 20th March 1778.

George Fleeming (son of George Fleeming, late tenent in Newtown of Nydie), ap. w. William Walker, 18th April 1778.

Robert Watt (son of deceased John Watt, in the Parish of Ceres), ap. w. James Motion, for two years from 1st of March last, 6th May 1779.

David Tullos (son of David Tullos, smith in Kirkton of Largo), ap. w. Andrew Duncan, 26th November 1779.

Andrew Toddie (son of Andrew Toddie, tenent in Greenlanes), ap. w. James Motion (from 1st June), 13th July 1780.

David Wallace (son of deceased George Wallace, late tenent in Lumbo), ap. w. Thomas Nisbet, 28th February 1781.

John Niven (son of Robert Niven, merchant), ap. w. William Walker, after April 2nd, 28th March 1781.

John Kirk (son of George Kirk, land labourer in Norgile), ap. w. Andrew Duncan, 15th June 1781.

Philip Beat (son of David Beat, overseer to Philip Anstruther of Anstruther), ap. w. Andrew Duncan, from 15th September, 14th November 1781.

Henry Berwick (son of William Berwick, late tenant in Balrymonth), ap. w. Andrew Duncan, 8th November 1782.

David Cairns (son of Patrick Cairns, late tenant in Scooniehill), ap. w. James Motion, from Nov. 22, 6th December 1782.

William Mathie (son of deceast William Mathie, maltman), ap. w. Thomas Nisbet, 7th February 1783.

James Scott (son to Robert Scott, wright, in Drumcarro), ap. w. James Motion, 22nd June 1784.

William Dickson (son of William Dickson, miller at the Law Miln), ap. w. Andrew Duncan, from Martinmas, 29th December 1784.

John Boyack (son of Patrick Boyack, taylor), ap. w. William Walker, from Martinmas, 19th December 1785.

John Carstairs (son of Charles Carstairs, in Kingsbarns), ap. w. Andrew Duncan, 25th April 1786.

Alexander Grub (son of David Grub, servant in Pitmilly) ap. w. James Motion, from Whitsunday, 7th July 1786.

Alexander Wilson (son of William Wilson, merchant), ap. w. William Walker, from Martinmas, 23rd January 1787.

George Kirk (son of George Kirk, wright), ap. w. John Kirk, from Martinmas, 23rd January 1787.

Alexr Galloway (son of Wm Galloway, tenant in Cabagehall), ap. w. John Kirk, 31st October 1788.

Robert Lawson (son of George Lawson, mason in Ceres), ap. w. James Motion, since Martinmas, 9th January 1789.

James Honeyman (son of Jas. Honeyman, weaver in Ceres), ap. w. John Niven, from Martinmas, 18th December 1789.

John Wishart (son of John Wishart, merchant), ap. w. James Motion, from Lambass last, 31st August 1790.

Thomas Patterson (son of Wm Patterson), ap. w. John Kirk, 26th May 1791.

James Brown (son of David Brown, fewar in Braeside, deceast), ap. w. James Motion, from Nov. 22nd, 7th December 1791.

John Johnston (son of James Johnston, late mariner), ap. w. John Kirk, from Whitsunday, 15th June 1792.

Robert Wallace (son of Andrew Wallace, ship carpenter), ap. w. David Wallace, 6th November 1792.

David Colvill (son of John Colvill, landlabourer, in the parish of Cameron), ap. w. John Niven, from Martinmass, old style, 20th November 1792.

Lawrence Horsburgh (son of deceast Lawrence Horsburgh, dyer), ap. w. Henry Berwick, 26th March 1793.

Andrew Reiny (son of deceast Walter Reiny, carpenter, in London), ap. w. Henry Berwick, from Whitsunday, 19th June 1794.

Alexander Aiekman (son of Thomas Aiekman, brewer), ap. w. John Kirk, since Whitsunday, 19th June 1794.

William Tullis (son of late Wm Tullis, late smith in Argyle, beside St. Andrews), ap. w. George Kirk, since December 25th, 22nd January 1795.

Thomas Band (son of James Band, tenant in Pitcorthie), ap. w. John Niven, from Whitsunday, 17th June 1795.

David Galloway (son of Wm Galloway, tenant in Mount Pleasant), ap. w. James Motion, since Whitsunday, 18th June 1795.
Robert Wilson (son of deceast Wm Wilson), ap. w. John Niven, from Whitsunday first, 9th May 1796.
Thomas Key (son of Alex. Key, brewer), ap. w. Henry Berwick, from Martinmas, 2nd December 1796.
John Motion (son of Robert Motion, in Baldinney Mill), ap. w. John Kirk, from Martinmas, 13th December 1796.
Wm Knox (son of David Knox, tenant Lambie letham), ap. w. Henry Berwick, 29th November 1802.
Alex. Kirk (son of James Kirk, land labrer in North Zill), ap. w. John Kirk, 11th Nov.-Dec. 1801
John Rodger (son of Wm Rodger, fermer in Kings Barns), ap. w. Robert Duncan, 3rd February 1801.
Hendry Budd (son of Thomas Budd, stampmaster), ap. w. John Kirk, 11th May 1804.
David Morton (son of deceased Robert Morton, farmer in Bidinney), ap. w. John Kirk, 14th January 1805.
John Fortune (son of George Fortune, wright in Grange), ap. w. Robert Duncan, 18th February 1805.
James Berwick (son of deceast John Berwick, tenant in Allanhill), ap. w. Henry Berwick, from 1st October, 20th November 1805.
George Arnott (son of Wm Arnott), ap. w. David Wallace, from 20th January last, 1st March 1806.
David Cockburn (son of Joseph Cockburn), ap. w. Mrs. Motion, widow of deceast Conveener James Motion, from 8th December last, 30th January 1807.
Robert Wallace (son of Lawrance Wallace, senior, flesher), ap. w. Robert Swinton, after 1st April, 5th May 1807.
James Raker (son of deceased Thomas Raker, baker in Wester Anstruther), ap. w. John Kirk, 18th December 1807.
Walter Wemyss (son of David Wemyss, wright), ap. w. John Kirk, from 1st January, 14th January 1808.
David Wilson (son of Thomas Wilson, Argyle), ap. w. John Niven, from Candlemas, 1808, 2nd February 1808.
William Farmer (son of deceased Wm. Farmer, late tenant in Curhurly), ap. w. Robert Duncan, 6th March 1809.
Alexander Pattie (son of Robert Pattie, merchant), ap. w. David Wallace, from 20th January, 8th March 1809.
David Farmer (son of deceased William Farmer, tenant in Curhurly), ap w. Robert Duncan, 24th May 1813.
John Wallace (eldest son of David Wallace, weaver, Kingsbarns), ap. w. William Hutton, from Whitsunday, 24th July 1815.
George Laverick (son of deceased John Laverick, Dysart), ap. w. Alexander Kirk, from Candlemas, 12th March 1818.
John Meldrum (son of late Andrew Meldrum, Osnaburgh), ap. w. Robert Duncan, 22nd December 1828.

FREEMEN ADMITTED FROM 1548 TO 1855.

James Browne, jun.,	3rd June 1548.
Androw Alexander,	3rd June 1548.
Robert Ryngene,	3rd June 1548.
Alexander Dunkane,	3rd June 1548.
Weylzem Bell,	20th June 1549.
Jone Walkar,	20th June 1549.
Jone Gylmouyr,	20th June 1549.
David Mylys,	20th June 1549.
Alexander Rynd,	8th June 1550.
Jone Scherp,	8th June 1550.
Duncane Dawesoun,	8th June 1550.
Wylzem Muffat,	8th June 1550.
George Zowyll,	31st May 1551.
Duncane Thomsoun,	31st May 1551.
Thomas Swane,	31st May 1551.
David Symsoun,	31st May 1551.
Robert Kenloquhye (son of Duncane Kenloquhye),	16th June 1552.
Hendre Small (son of Willem Smal),	16th June 1552.
Vyllem Pytcarne, apprenticed to James Browne, Sen.,	16th June 1552.
Jone Wale,	24th May 1554.
James Sunter,	24th May 1554.
George Steynsoun,	24th May 1554.
Wylzeme Norye (son and heir to Alexander Norye),	3rd June 1554.
Dauid Mortoun,	7th June 1556.
Dawyd Scot,	7th June 1556.
James Hay, apprentice with Villem Rynd,	20th June 1557.
Hendre Fairful,	5th May 1559.
Villem Peblis (son of Robert Peblis),	16th Sep. 1563.
Hendre Duncansoun,	1st June 1564.
Aele Wilsoun,	1st June 1564.
Thomas Ramsay,	1st June 1564.
William Saige,	11th Mar. 1565.
Robert Arthur,	25th Mar. 1565.
Hendre Jamesoun,	15th June 1566.
Andro Watsoun,	15th June 1566.
David Rekart,	30th May 1574.
Jhonne Thomesoun,	30th May 1574.
David Myllis, zoungar,	17th June 1576.
James Alexander,[1]	17th June 1576.
Andro Bell,	17th June 1576.
David Edie (son of Walter),	17th June 1576.
Robert Sibbald,	19th Nov. 1577.
Alexander (?) Lausoun,	1579.
Gergis Sma,	1579.

[1] Janet Baird, spouse to James Alexander, baxter in St. Andrews. January 3rd, 1607. Commissariot Record of St. Andrews.

Wille Donncisoun,[1]	1579.
Johnne Scherp,	3rd June 1581.
Johnne Valcar (son of Johnne),	3rd June 1581.
David Duncane,	19th Dec. 1583.
Charles Ramsay,	19th Dec. 1583.
Hendre Vtene,	19th Dec. 1583.
Andro Scott,	19th Dec. 1583.
Jamis Thomsoun,	24th Dec. 1584.
Thomas Doncann,	1586.
David Pitcairn,	1586.
Jhonne Myllis,	1586.
David Tailzour,	1586.
Androw Balfour (son of Williame Balfour, baxter),	26th Mar. 1588.
Alexander Patye (son of the late Alexander Patye),	26th Mar. 1588.
Jhonne Greig,[2]	2nd Aug. 1589.
Jhonne Lewingstoun (eldest son of Archbald Lewingstoun),[3]	23rd July 1590.
Jhonne Hwneman (eldest son to Jhonne Hwnemon),	19th Oct. 1591.
Johnne Norye (second son of late Alexander Norye),	3rd Oct. 1593.
David Russell (son of Thomas Russell, in Coklawis),	24th Aug. 1594.
David Dewar (son of Johnne Dewar, of Dewaris Mill),	1st Jan. 1594.
William Staig,[4]	16th Mar. 1595.

[1] Whilst Staig and his wife were before the Kirk Session on May 11th, 1599, for their ungodly behaviour to others, his fellow-craftsman, William Duncanson, had to see his wife, Janet Kenlowie, submit herself to the same tribunal. She was 'ordinit to crave God and hir spous and the session forgivenes, for hir evill tung, and flytting with hir neychtbouris; and to pay xxs to the pure, and is becum actit, that if she be fund in the lyik fault heir-eftir, to mak publik repentance with civill amendement as efferis.'

[2] Bessie Howieson, relict of J. Greig, baxter citiner, in St. Andrews. March 8th, 1617. Commissariot Record of St. Andrews.

[3] Archibald Livingston, baxter, citiner of St. Andrews. 8th April, 1615. *(Ibid.).*

[4] William Staig was admitted a freeman upon 16th March, 1595, but on the 21st February, 1592, he had to stand a charge made against him before the Kirk Session by Beatrix Weland, she confessing that it was her third fault. At a subsequent sitting he proferred his confession and was ordered to pay 30s, and to be imprisoned. On 12th November, 1595, he, along with several others, was accused for not attending the Kirk and sermons upon Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday, and, along with his companions, he promised amendment, under pain of censure of the Kirk. The claims upon tradesmen in these days regarding preachings on week days were very severe. On the same date William Staig and his wife were ordered to make public humiliation for 'flyting to gidder' and make satisfaction the same day. Notwithstanding his promised amendment regarding church attendance, he made his reappearance before the Session on the 15th of February, 1595, along with a mason and James Pittillo, for drinking on the Sabbath day during the time of sermon, for which public humiliation had to be performed. Altogether, Staig appears to have been a troublesome and turbulent character, as he was involved in the case of the Arthurs, and again in 1599 he appeared before the Session upon the 11th

James Broun[1] (eldest son to late James Broun, yr.),	11th May 1596.
Androw Moffett (eldest son of late Thomas Moffett),[2]	1st Dec. 1596.
Andrew Dunkesoun (eldest son of Duncan Dunkesoun),	12th Feb. 1596.
Androw Lewingstoun (son of Archbald Lewingstoun, baxter),	26th May 1597.
Johnne Buchanane,	26th May 1597.
Patrik Smyt (son of late Johnne Smyt, in Ballone),	26th May 1597.
Patrik Arthour,	23rd June 1597.
William Hwniman[3] (son of Johnie Hwniman, elder),	17th Aug. 1598.
David Kynneir (son of late Johnne Kynneir),	24th Jan. 1598.
Alexander Mortoun,	16th Aug. 1600.
Thomas Grig (eldest son of late George Grig),	26th Jan. 1602.
David Myls,	20th Feb. 1606.
George Moffett (second son of late Thomas Moffatt),	7th June 1608.
Androw Huniman (son of late Johnne Huniman, elder, baker),	31st May 1609.
Robert Walkar (second son of late Robert Walkar, baker),	28th May 1611
James Dunkesoun (son of late Wm. Dunkesoun),	15th Dec. 1613.
William Pitcairne (eldest son of David Pitcairne),	13th Dec. 1615.
Airchbaild Livistone (eldest son of Johne Liuinstone),	18th Feb. 1617.
Jone Walker[4] (eldest son to Jone Walker),	23rd Mar. 1617.
David Walkar (second son to late John Walkar, baxter),	7th Jan. 1618.
Thomas Dicksoun (son of Thomas Diksoun, maltman),	29th July 1618.
George Grig (second son to late George Grig, bakster),	27th Nov. 1618.
Patrik Walkar (third son of late Johne Walkar, bakster),	6th May 1619.
Robert Honiman (son of late Johne Honiman, elder, bakster),	18th June 1619.
Thomas Mylis (sone of Johne Mylis, bakster),	27th July 1619.
Johne Duncansoun (son of Andrew Duncansoun, bakster),	27th July 1619.
Wm Arthour (son of Patrik Arthour, bakster),	28th May 1622.
Charles Small (son of George Small, bakster),	25th Jan. 1623.
Thomas Balquhannan (eldest son of Johne Balquhannan, bakster),	9th Feb. 1623.
Thomas Muinth (son of late James Muinth, of ye Puffell of Strakynnes),	21st April 1623.

May, along with his wife, accused of ungodly behaviour to others, and came under a penalty that if they were found guilty again, or even troublesome to their neighbours, they would be punished in the highest degree. On 16th July, 1600, he was called upon to make public repentance for night walking, playing at cards and dice, and other unseemly conduct. In the Commissariot of St. Andrews there is an entry on 24th April, 1616, of William Staig, junior, lawful son to Umquhile William Staig, baxter, citiner of St. Andrews.

[1] James Brown baker, citiner, in St. Andrews. 23rd March, 1625. Commissariot Record of St. Andrews.

[2] Thomas Moffett, some time spouse to Elizabeth Robertson. 18th August, 1592. *(Ibid.)*.

[3] William Honeyman and his wife, Helen Henderson, were appointed to make public humiliation upon the 22nd May, 1596, for being absent from the church before noon. In the Commissariot Record of St. Andrews there are two entries regarding a William Honeyman, the first being that relating to his wife, Margaret Robertson, spouse to William Hunniman, baxter, burgess of Falkland, 9th December, 1616, and the other relating to himself, 4th October, 1654, which looks as if a branch of the St. Andrews family had flourished in Falkland.

[4] Jone Walker. 26th February, 1655. Commissariot Record of St. Andrews.

Abraham Thomsone (son of late James Thomsone, bakster),	31st May 1623.
James Walkar (son of late Robert Walkar, bakster),	3rd Dec. 1623.
Johne Honiman (eldest son of late Johne Honiman, elder, bakster),	9th Dec. 1623.
James Broun (eldest son of late James Broun, bakster),	16th Dec. 1623.
David Duncan (son of Thomas Duncan, In ye Rind),	2nd Mar. 1627.
Jon Myllis (youngest son of late Jon Myllis),	9th Feb. 1630.
James Pitcairne (second son of late David Pitcairne, baxter),	28th Aug. 1630.
Wiliame Leuingston (son of Johne Leuingston, baxter),	3rd May 1632.
Robert Kenlowie (son of Arthour Kenlowie),	24th April 1633.
Johnne Myrtoun[1] (eldest son of Alexander Myrtoun, baxter),	26th Nov. 1634.
Johnne Walcar[2] (son of late Johne Walcar, baxter),	25th Jan. 1637.
Alexander Myrtoun (second son of Alexander Myrtoun, baxter),	27th June 1637.
Johne Bryd,	30th May 1638.
Peter Duncansone (second son of Andro Duncansone, baxter),	9th Feb. 1639.
Alexander Mounth (son of Thomas Mounth, baxter),	14th Jan. 1642.
Robert Walker (son of Robert Walker, elder, baxter),	1st March 1642.
Johnne Honyman (second son of Androw Honyman, baxter),	10th Sep. 1642.
James Arthor (youngest son to Patrik Arthour, baxter),	27th Jan. 1643.
Johnne Bruce,[3] apprentice to the late George Muffat,	4th Aug. 1643.
Patrik Walker[4] (younger son to Patrik Walker, baxter),	21st Jan. 1645.
Androw Levingstone (son to late John Levingstone, baxter),	30th May 1646.
Johnne Browne (son to Alexander Browne, maltman),	1st Dec. 1646.
Androw Honyman (eldest lawful son to Johnne Honyman, baxter),	3rd Aug. 1647.
Androw Walkar (son of James Walkar, baxter),	3rd Aug. 1647.
James Walkar[5] (son of David Walkar),	6th Sep. 1648.
Thomas Wilsone (son of Hew Wilson, measone), late apprentice to Piter Duncansone,	29th Nov. 1648.
William Kenlowie[6] (son of late Robert Kenlowie),	21st Dec. 1649.
Thomas Walkar (son of Thomas Walkar, merchand),	18th Dec. 1651.
James Walkar (son of Johnne Walkar, mariner),	27th April 1653.
George Jonstoun, apprentice with Johnne Walkar,	23rd May 1653.
David Broune[7] (son of late James Broun, baxter),	20th Oct. 1658.
Johnne Levingstoune (son of Androw Levingstoune, baxter),	27th Oct. 1658.

[1] Johnne Myrtoun, some time one of the bailies of St. Andrews. July 18th, 1662. Commissariot Record of St. Andrews.

[2] Johnne Walker, baxter, citiner, of St. Andrews. February 26th, 1655. *(Ibid.)*.

[3] J. Bruce, some time Deacon of the Baxters in St. Andrews. January 24th, 1687. *(Ibid.)*.

[4] Patrik Walker, some time Deacon of the Baxters in St. Andrews. October 16th, 1683. *(Ibid.)*.

[5] James Walker, some time Deacon Convener of Trades of St. Andrews. November 14th, 1673. *(Ibid.)*.

[6] Isobel Ireland, relict of William Kinlowie, some time baxter in St. Andrews. February 20th, 1695. *(Ibid.)*.

[7] David Broune, late Deacon Convener of the Trades of St. Andrews. March 2nd, 1683. *(Ibid.)*.

Wm Honyman (younger son of Johnne Honyman, baxter),	12th Sep. 1660.
Johnne Bred (son to Johnne Bred, baxter),	4th Dec. 1662.
James Mortoun, apprentice with Patrick Walker,	9th June 1664.
David Leitch (son of David Leitch, scoollmaister at ferrie portincraig),	16th Mar. 1670.
David Russell (son of late David Russell, baker),	6th Oct. 1674.
Johne Bruce (eldest son of Deacon John Bruce),[1]	13th Oct. 1674.
Johne Duncanson (eldest son of late Peter Duncanson, late Deacon),	26th Mar. 1675.
Piter Duncansone (second son of above Peter Duncanson),	18th Sep. 1675.
Johne Johnestoun (eldest son of late George Johnestoun, baxter),	3rd June 1676.
Johne Honyman (son of late William Honyman, baxter),	30th May 1681.
William Walkar[2] (eldest son of late James Walkar, deacon Convener of Trades),	29th May 1682.
William Russell (son of David Russell, baxter),	14th Sep. 1683.
George Tod (son of Thomas Tod),	29th May 1684.
Johne Livingstoun (son of late Johne Livingstoun),	31st May 1684.
Johne Russell (eldest son of David Russell, baxter),	30th Aug. 1686.
William Broun (son of late David Brown, baxter, deacon Convener of trades),	30th May 1690.
John Braid (son of John Braid, baxter),	29th May 1696.
James Duncansone[3] (eldest son of late John Duncansone),	10th Sep. 1697.
James Balfour (son of late James Balfour,[4] maltman),	31st May 1700.
Peter Duncansone (eldest son of late Peter Duncansone, Deacon),	2nd July 1701.
John Johnstoune (eldest son of John Johnstoune),	29th May 1702.
Henry Tod,[5] apprentice with late John Bruce,	17th Aug. 1703.
David Walker (only son of late William Walker),	29th May 1705.
George Johnstoune (second son of John Johnstoune, of Coubaikie, brother of traid),	16th Sep. 1709.
William Gib, prenteis with James Duncansone (now deceist),	2nd Nov. 1710.
Paul Duncansone (second son of late Peter Duncansone),	16th Oct. 1717.
John Braid (eldest son of John Braid, late deacon),	16th Oct. 1717.
Michaell Balfour (son of Robert Balfour, elder, Mylnes of ffoarth),	— Nov. 1719.
David Murray (son of Thomas Murray, Liddocks Mylne),	29th July 1720.
John Duncansone[6] (son of deceast James Duncansone),	4th May 1721.
Andrew Paterson (eldest son of James Paterson, maltman),	14th Dec. 1723.

[1] Margaret Gulland, some time spouse to John Bruce, elder, some time Deacon of the Bakers of St. Andrews. July 18th, 1685. Commissariot Record of St. Andrews.

[2] William Walkar, some time Deacon of the Bakers in St. Andrews. July 30th, 1703. *(Ibid.)*.

[3] James Duncansone, baxter burges of St. Andrews, Parish of St. Leonards. August 3rd, 1711. *(Ibid.)*.

[4] James Balfour, maltman in St. Andrews. December 5th 1684. *(Ibid.)*.

[5] Helen Buchan, spouse to Henry Tod, baxter in St. Andrews. December 1st, 1709. *(Ibid.)*.

[6] J. Duncansone, baxter and late convener of the Trades of St. Andrews. 19th April, 1775. *(Ibid.)*.

Andrew Honyman (eldest son of deceast John Honyman),	7th Aug. 1730.
David Tod (youngest son of deceast Henry Tod, baxter),	10th Jan. 1736.
John Gregory (son of Professor Gregory),	29th May 1739.
Thomas Kyd (son of deceast James Kyd),	5th Oct. 1744.
Thomas Honyman (son of deceast Andrew Honyman),	14th June 1745.
Paul Duncanson (only son of Paul Duncanson, late deacon),	8th Sept. 1749.
Thomas Duncanson (eldest son of John Duncanson, present Convener of the Trades),	23rd Mar. 1753.
Robert Walker (son of deceast David Walker, late deacon),	14th Mar. 1755.
Alexander Paterson (third son of Andrew Paterson),	13th Dec. 1757.
Thomas Fair (son of late Thomas Fair, ferrier in Colinsburgh),	19th Feb. 1766.
Coline Tod (only son of deceast David Tod),	7th Aug. 1767.
George Duncan (son of Andrew Duncan, tenant in Bankhead of Lathallan),	26th May 1769.
John Methven, Guildbrother,	27th Dec. 1769.
Andrew Duncan (son of George Duncan, tennant in Kingsbarns),	20th May 1771.
Thomas Honeyman[1] (second son of Thomas Honeyman),	3rd Sept. 1773.
John Carstairs (son of David Carstairs, tenant in Boghall), apprenticed with George Duncan,	21st Nov. 1774.
William Walker (eldest son of Robert Walker, late Deacon),	29th Oct. 1776.
James Motion (son of John Motion, land labourer),	31st Jan. 1777.
Thomas Nisbet (son of James Nisbet),	22nd Aug. 1780.
John Kirk (son of George Kirk),	28th Nov. 1786.
John Niven (son of Robert Niven, merchant),	26th May 1787.
Alex. Duncan (son of deceast David Duncan, residenter),	26th June 1787.
David Wallace (son of George Wallace, tennant in Lumbo),	11th June 1787.
Henry Berwick (son of Wm. Berwick, tenant in Balrymonth),	18th June 1791.
George Duncan (son of Andrew Duncan),	26th Aug. 1791.
George Kirk (son of George Kirk, wright),	25th Nov. 1794.
John Motion (eldest son of James Motion),	17th Aug. 1796.
Robert Duncan (son of deceased Andrew Duncan, baker),	28th July 1800.
Alex. Wilson (son of deceased Wm Wilson, merchant),	8th March 1802.
James Motion (eldest living son of deceased James Motion, baker),	2nd Aug. 1803.
Thomas Motion (son of the said deceased James Motion),	2nd Aug. 1803.
Robert Swinton, neutral baker,	5th Dec. 1806.
John Rodger (seeond son of Wm Rodger, farmer in Kingsbarns),	20th June 1809.
William Hutton, baker in Argyle,	25th June 1811.
Alexander Kennedy, a neutral baker,	5th Aug. 1811.
John Fortune, baker,	29th May 1812.
John Trail, neutral baker,	6th Dec. 1813.
Alexander Aikman, baker in St. Andrews,	1st June 1814.
Alexander Kirk, baker (second son of James Kirk, land labourer in Argyle),	28th June 1814.
Robert Wallace, baker (youngest son of Lawrence Wallace, senior, flesher),	31st July 1816.
Thomas Pattie, baker,	24th Jan. 1818.

[1] Thomas Honeyman, junr., baker in St. Andrews. October 31st, 1781. Commissariot Record of St. Andrews.

Samuel Walker (youngest son of deceased Wm Walker),	14th Aug. 1824.
Alexander Thomson (third son of John Thomson, landlabourer),	20th Dec. 1825.
John Fyall, baker (second son of James Fyall),	9th Nov. 1827.
Robert Ovenstone, late of Pittenweem,	16th July 1840.
Thomas Smith, baker,[1]	17th Sep. 1840.
David Craig, Jr.,	29th May 1841.
Benjamin Philp, baker in St. Andrews,	31st May 1845.
James Trail (eldest son of John Trail),	29th May 1847.
James Duncan (son of Robert Duncan),	1st July 1847.
Alexander Kirk, Jr. (son of Alexander Kirk),	25th Aug. 1852.
James Ireland, baker, Argyle, St. Andrews,	9th April 1855.

[1] Smith was the last Deacon of the Trade; his shop was situated at 5 South Bell Street.

LIST OF DEACONS FROM 1548 TO 1861.

1548—Jamis Browne
1549—Thomas Mortowne
1550— do.
1551—Jamys Browne, zowngar
1552—Thomas Mortoun
1553—Alane Browne
1554—Thomas Mortoune
1555— do.
1556— do.
1557—James Broune, elder
1558—James Browne, jun.
1559— do.
1560—*Blank*
1561— *do.*
1562— *do.*
1563—James Browne, jun.
1564—Hendre Smal
1565—Thomas Mortoun
1566—David Millis
1567—*Blank*
1568— *do.*
1569— *do.*
1570— *do.*
1571— *do.*
1572— *do.*
1573—Alexander Patie
1574—(25th Mar.) do.
1574—Villiam Stevinsoun
1575—James Broun, elder
1576—Johnne Valie
1577—James Broun, elder
1578— do.
1579—Johnne Valie
1580—Johnne Valcar
1581—David Millis
1582—Johnie Valie
1583—Jhone Wylie[1]
1584— do.
1585— do.
1586— do.
1587—David Kynneir
1588— do.
1589—Jhonne Vylie
1590— do.
1591— do.
1592— do.

[1] Wylie's name appears about this period under various forms of spelling.

1593—David Kynneir
1594— do.
1595—George Greig
1596—Johnne Hwniman
1597—Johnie Vylie
1598— do.
1599—Johnne Myls
1600— do.
1601— do.
1602— do.
1603—Duncan Dunkesoun
1604— do.
1605— do.
1606—Johnne Myls
1607— do.
1608—Duncan Dunkensone
1609—Johnne Myls
1610— do.
1611— do.
1612— do.
1613— do.
1614—Androw Dunkesone
1615— do.
1616— do.
1617— do.
1618— do.
1619—Johnne Myls
1620—Andrew Honiman
1621—Andrew Duncansoun
1622— do.
1623— do.
1624— do.
1625— do.
1626—Androw Honiman
1627—Andrew Duncansone
1628— do.
1629— do.
1630— do.
1631—Andro Hwnyman
1632— do.
1633—Andro Duncansone
1634— do.
1635— do.
1636— do.
1637—Andrew Huneman
1638— do.
1639— do.
1640—James Broun
1641— do.
1642—Robert Walker, elder

1643—James Broune
1644— do.
1645—James Broune
1646— do.
1647—William Levingstone
1648— do.
1649— do.
1650—Peter Duncansone
1651— do.
1652— do.
1653—William Levingstone
1654— do.
1655—Peter Duncansone
1656—Patrik Walkar
1657— do.
1658— do.
1659—William Levingstoun
1660—Peter Duncansone
1661—Patrik Walkar
1662—William Levingstone
1663—Patrik Walkar
1664—James Walker, jr.
1665—James Walker
1666—David Broun
1667— do.
1668— do.
1669—Patrik Walkar
1670— do.
1671—Johnne Browne
1672—Johnne Bruce
1673— do.
1674— do.
1675— do.
1676—Patrik Walkar
1677— do.
1678—James Mortoun
1679— do.
1680— do.
1681— do.
1682—Johne Duncansone
1683— do.
1684— do.
1685—Peter Duncansone
1686— do.
1687—Johne Duncansone and Peter Duncanson
1688—Peter Duncanson
1689—Johne Duncansone and Johne Bruce
1690—Johne Bruce
1691—Johne Duncansone
1692— do.

1693—William Walkar
1694—Johne Honyman
1695—Johne Honyman
1696— do.
1697—William Broune
1698— do.
1699— do.
1700—William Walker
1701— do.
1702—John Johnstoune, elder
1703— do.
1704— do.
1705— do.
1706—John Honymane
1707— do.
1708— do.
1709—Peter Duncansone
1710— do.
1711—John Johnstoune, jr.
1712—John Braid
1713—John Johnstoune, jr.
1714— do.
1715— do.
1716— do.
1717—Peter Duncansone
1718— do.
1719— do.
1720— do.
1721— do.
1722— do.
1723—Willam Gib
1724— do.
1725— do.
1726— do.
1727— do.
1728— do.
1729—Paul Duncanson
1730— do.
1731— do.
1732—Andrew Paterson
1733—John Johnston
1734—John Bred
1735— do.
1736—John Duncanson
1737— do.
1738—William Gib
1739— do.
1740— do.
1741—John Duncanson
1742— do.
1743— do.

1744—Paul Duncanson
1745—John Gregory
1746—David Walker
1747— do.
1748— do.
1749—John Duncanson
1750— do.
1751— do.
1752—Andrew Paterson
1753— do.
1754—David Tod
1755—Andrew Paterson
1756— do.
1757—Thomas Duncanson
1758—Robert Walker
1759—Thomas Duncanson
1760— do.
1761— do.
1762—Thomas Honyman
1763— do.
1764— do.
1765—David Tod
1766—Alexander Paterson
1767—Thomas Honyman
1768— do.
1769— do.
1770—John Methven
1771—George Duncan
1772— do.
1773— do.
1774—Paul Duncanson
1775—Thomas Honeyman, elder
1776— do.
1777— do.
1778—Andrew Duncan
1779— do.
1780—Robert Walker
1781— do.
1782— do.
1783—William Walker
1784— do.
1785— do.
1786—James Motion
1787— do.
1788— do.
1789—Andrew Duncan
1790— do.
1791— do.
1792—John Kirk
1793— do.
1794— do.

1795—David Wallace
1796— do.
1797—John Niven
1798— do.
1799— do.
1800—David Wallace
1801— do.
1802— do.
1803—John Niven
1804— do.
1805— do.
1806—John Kirk
1807— do.
1808— do.
1809—Henry Berwick
1810— do.
1811— do.
1812—David Wallace
1813— do.
1814— do.
1815—William Hutton
1816— do.
1817— do.
1818—John Fortune
1819— do.
1820— do.
1821—Henry Berwick
1822— do.
1823— do.
1824—Alexander Kirk
1825— do.
1826— do.
1827—John Rodger
1828— do.
1829— do.
1830—Thomas Pattie
1831— do.
1832— do.
1833—John Fyall
1834— do.
1835— do.
1836— do.
1837— do.
1838— do.
1839— do.
1840—Samuel Walker
1841— do.
1842— do.
1843—Thomas Smith
1844— do.
1845— do.

1846—Thomas Smith
1847—David Craig
1848—David Craig
1849— do.
1850—Benjamin Philp
1851— do.
1852— do.
1853— do.
1854—Thomas Smith
1855— do.
1856— do.
1857— do.
1858— do.
1859— do.
1860— do.
1861— do.

LIST OF POSITORS AND BOXMASTERS.

1555—David Mylis
1556— do.
1557— do.
1573—Jhonne Walie
1574—Johnne Walcar
1575— do.
1576—David Myllis
1577—Johnne Lausoun
1580—David Kynner
1581 - Johnne Valie
1582—Johne Walkar
1583—Archibald Levingstoun
1584—George Greig
1585—Alexander Scharpe
1586—Arche Lewistoun and David Stein, Assiser
1587—Jhonne Hwneman
1588— do.
1589— do.
1590— do.
1591—Robert Valker
1592—Alexander Scharpe
1593—Johnne Hwneman
1594—Johnne Hwneman, elder
1595—David Tailzour
1596—Johnne Grig
1597— do.
1598—William Dunkesoun
1599— do.
1600—James Alexander
1601—James Duncan
1603—Androw Lewingstoun
1604—James Duncan
1665— do.
1606— do.
1607—Androw Lewingstoun
1608—Androw Dunkesoun
1609— do.
1610—Johnne Lewingstoun
1611— do.
1612—Johnne Hwniman
1613— do.
1614—James Brown
1615—Alexander Mortoun
1616—Androw Hunyman
1617— do.
1618— do.
1619— do.

1620—Robert Walkar
1621— do.
1622—George Moffett
1623—Robert Walkar
1624—James Broun
1625—Robert Walkar
1626— do.
1627— do.
1628— do.
1629—James Broun
1630— do.
1631— do.
1632—Thomas Bucchannan
1633— do.
1634—Robert Walcar
1635— do.
1636—Patrik Walcar
1637— do.
1638—Robert Walker
1639— do.
1640—Patrik Walker
1641—Jhone Mortoun
1642— do.
1643— do.
1644—James Pitcairne
1645—William Lewingstone
1646—James Pitcairne
1647— do.
1648—Alexander Mortoun
1649—Jon Honyman
1650—Alexander Mortoun
1651—Johnne Walkar
1652—Alexander Mortoun
1653—Johnne Bred
1654— do.
1655—Alexander Month
1656— do.
1657—Jon Bruce
1658— do.
1659— do.
1660—Johnne Broun
1661— do.
1662—David Brown
1663— do.
1664—William Honyman

BOXMASTERS.

1665—David Brown
1666—Thomas Walkar
1667— do.

1668—James Mortoune
1669— do.
1670—Johne Livingstoun
1671—William Kinlowie
1672— do.
1673— do.
1674—Johne Livingstoun
1675— do.
1676—William Kinlowie
1677—Johne Duncansone
1678— do.
1679—Johne Bruce, yr.
1680— do.
1681— do.
1682—Piter Duncansone
1683—Johne Jonstone
1684— do.
1685—Johne Honyman
1686— do.
1687—William Walkar
1688— do.
1689—William Russell
1690— do.
1691— do.
1692—Johne Braid
1693—William Brown
1694— do.
1695—Johne Russell
1696— do.
1697—John Johnstoune and John Livingstoune
1698—John Johnstoune
1699—John Braid
1700— do.
1701—James Duncansone
1702— do.
1703— do.
1704—Peter Duncansone
1705— do.
1706—Hendry Tod
1707— do.
1708—John Johnstoune, jr.
1709— do.
1710—David Walker
1711— do.
1712— do.
1713—William Gib
1714—Henry Tod
1715— do.
1716— do.
1717—John Livingstoune
1718— do.

1719—John Livingstoune
1720—William Gib
1721— do.
1722—Paull Duncansone
1723—Michaell Balfour
1724—David Murray
1725— do.
1726—Andrew Paterson
1727—John Duncanson
1728— do.
1729— do.
1730—David Walker
1731— do.
1732—Andrew Honeyman
1733— do.
1734—David Walker
1735— do.
1736— do.
1737—Andrew Honeyman
1738— do.
1739— do.
1740—David Tod
1741—John Gregory
1742— do.
1743— do.
1744—David Walker
1745— do.
1746—David Tod
1747— do.
1748—Thomas Honeyman
1749— do.
1750—*No Record*
1751—Paul Duncanson, Jr.
1752— do.
1753—David Tod
1754—Paul Duncanson
1755— do.
1756—Thomas Duncanson
1757—Thomas Honyman
1758—Paul Duncanson
1759— do.
1760— do.
1761—Alexander Paterson
1761— do.
1762— do.
1763— do.
1764—Paul Duncanson
1765— do.
1766— do.
1767—Thomas Fair
1768— do.

1769—Coline Tod
1770—George Duncan
1771—Paul Duncanson
1772— do.
1773—Andrew Duncan
1774— do.
1775— do.
1776—John Carstairs
1777—William Walker
1778— do.
1779— do.
1780—James Motion
1781— do.
1782— do.
1783—Thomas Nisbett
1784— do.
1785— do.
1786—William Walker [Factor]
1787—John Kirk
1788— do.
1789— do.
1790—David Wallace
1791— do.
1792— do.
1793—Henry Berwick
1794—John Niven (declined)
1795—George Kirk
1796— do.
1797— do.
1798—Henry Berwick
1799— do.
1800— do.
1801—Robert Duncan
1802— do.
1803— do.
1804—George Kirk
1805— do.
1806— do.
1807—Thomas Motion[1]
1808— do.
1809— do.
1810—John Rodger
1811— do.
1812— do.
1813—John Fortune
1814— do.

[1] Thomas Motion having declined election for a third term of office, John Rodger was appointed factor until the ordinary election. The date of appointment of factor, which office had been instituted in 1786 and only filled on that occasion, is not given.

1815—John Fortune
1816—Alexander Aikman
1817— do.
1818— do.
1819—Alexander Kirk
1820— do.
1821— do.
1822—Thomas Patie
1823— do.
1824— do.
1825—Samuel Walker
1826— do.
1827— do.
1828—Alexander Thomson
1829—John Fyall[1]
1830— do.
1831— do.
1832—Andrew Duncan
1833— do.
1834— do.
1835—John Rodger [Factor in 1835]
1836— do.
1837— do.
1838— do.
1839— do.
1840— do.
1841— do.
1842— do.
1843— do.
1844— do.
1845— do.
1846— do.
1847— do.
1848— do.
1849— do.
1850— do.
1851—James Duncan
1852— do.
1853— do.
1854— do.
1855—James Ireland
1856— do.
1857—John Fortune
1858— do.
1859— do.
1860— do.
1861— do.

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[1] Elected by a great majority in 1829.

LIST OF OFFICERS.

1558—Thomas Demster, sergeand to the craft
1564—Georde Strang (Sergeand)
1573—Alane Wilsoun
1574— do.
1577—James Alexander and Hendre Jamesoun
1578—Hendre Jamesoun
1588—Dawid Stein[1]
1593—William Peblis
1594— do.
1595— do.
1596—David Dewar
1597—William Staig and William Peblis
1603—Alexander Mortoun
1604— do.
1609—William Peblis
1610—William Hwniman
1612—George Small
1614—James Dunkesoun
1615—George Small
1616—William Pitkirne
1618—George Small
1619—William Honiman
1621—William Honiman for George Grig
1622—William Honyman for Patrik Walkar
1623—William Honiman for Robert Honiman
1624—Williame Honiman for Johne Duncanson
1625—James Duncansone for William Arthour
1626—James Duncansone for Charles Small
1627—James Duncansone for Thomas Buchannan
1628—James Duncansone for Thomas Munth
1629—James Walker
1630—James Duncansoun for Johne Honyman
1631—James Duncansoun for James Broun
1633—James Duncansoun for Johnne Myllis
1634—James Duncansoun for James Pitcairne
1635—William Levingstoun
1636—Robert Kenlowie
1637—Johnne Myrtoun
1638—Jon Walker
1639—Alexander Mortoun, yr.
1640—Johne Braid
1641—Peiter Dunkansone
1642—Alexander Mounth
1643—Johnne Honyman
1644—James Arthour

[1] David Steven, baxter, admitted to the Kirk Session on December 28th, 1580, that he was the father of a child by Bessye Brog.

1645—Johnne Bruce
1646—Patrik Walker
1647—Androw Levingstoun
1648—Jon Broune
1649—Androw Walkar
1650—Andro Honyman
1651—William Kenlowie
1652—Andro Walkar
1653—James Walkar, yr.
1654—Andro Levingstoun
No entries until 1659—Jon Levingstoun
1660—Andro Levingstoun
1661—*No Record*
1662— *do.*
1663—Johnne Bred, zounger
1664—*No Record*
1665—Andro Levingstoun
1666— do.
1667— do.
1668— do
1669— do.
1670—David Leitch
1671—Johne Mortoun
1672— do.
1673— do.
1674— do.
1675—Johne Duncansone
1676—John Bruce, younger
1677—Peter Duncansone
1678—David Russell
1679—Johne Johnstoun
1681—Johne Honyman
1682—William Walkar
1683—Wm Russell
1684—George Tod
1685—Johne Livingstone
1686—Wm Russell
1690—Wm Broun
1696—John Braid, yr.
1697—James Duncansone
1699—David Hay
1700—James Balfour
1701—Peter Duncansone
1702—John Johnstoune, jr.
1703—Henry Tod
1704—David Hay
1705—David Walker
1706—David Hay
1707— do.
1708— do.
1709— do.

1710—David Hay
1711—Wm Gib
1716—David Hay
1717— do.
1718—Paull Duncansone
1720—(21st January) John Braid, jr. (16th September) Michaell Balfour
1721—David Murray
1723—David Hay
1724—Andrew Patersone
1725—John Dunckeson
1726—David Hay
1727— do.
1728— do.
1729— do.
1730—Andrew Honey[man]
1734—John Millar
1736—David Tod
1739—John Gregory
1745—Thomas Kid
1753—Thomas Duncanson
1788—Alexander Duncan
1789—David Wallace
1800—Ro. Duncan
1802—Alexander Wilson
1803—James Motion
1804—Thos. Motion
1815—Alexander Aikman
1816—Alexander Kirk
1817—Robt. Wallace
1818—Thomas Pattie
1819— do.
1843—John Traill
1844— do.
1845— do.
1846— do.
1847— do.
1848— do.
1849— do.
1850— do.
1851— do.
1852— do.
1853— do.
1854— do.
1855— do.
1856— do.

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